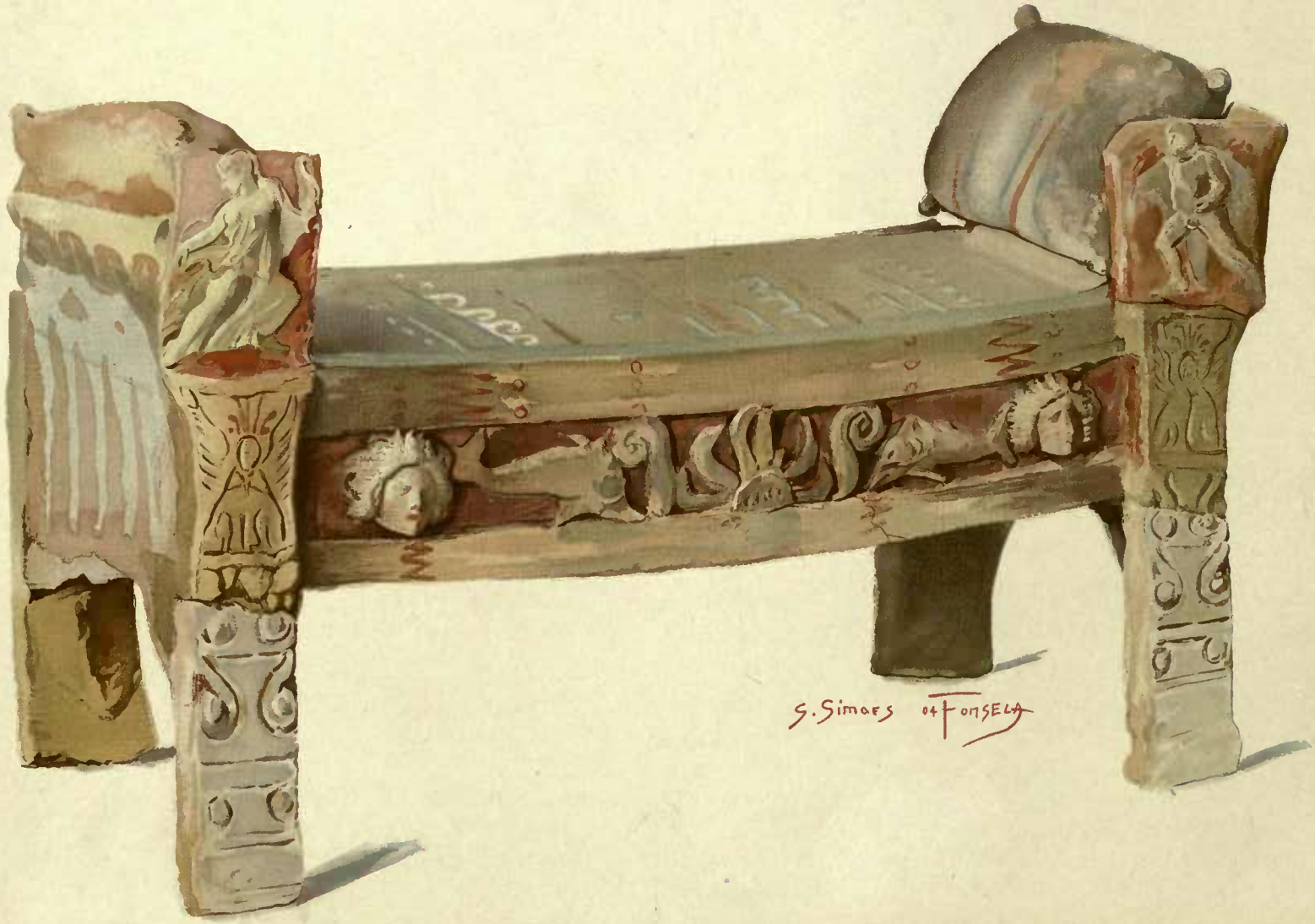
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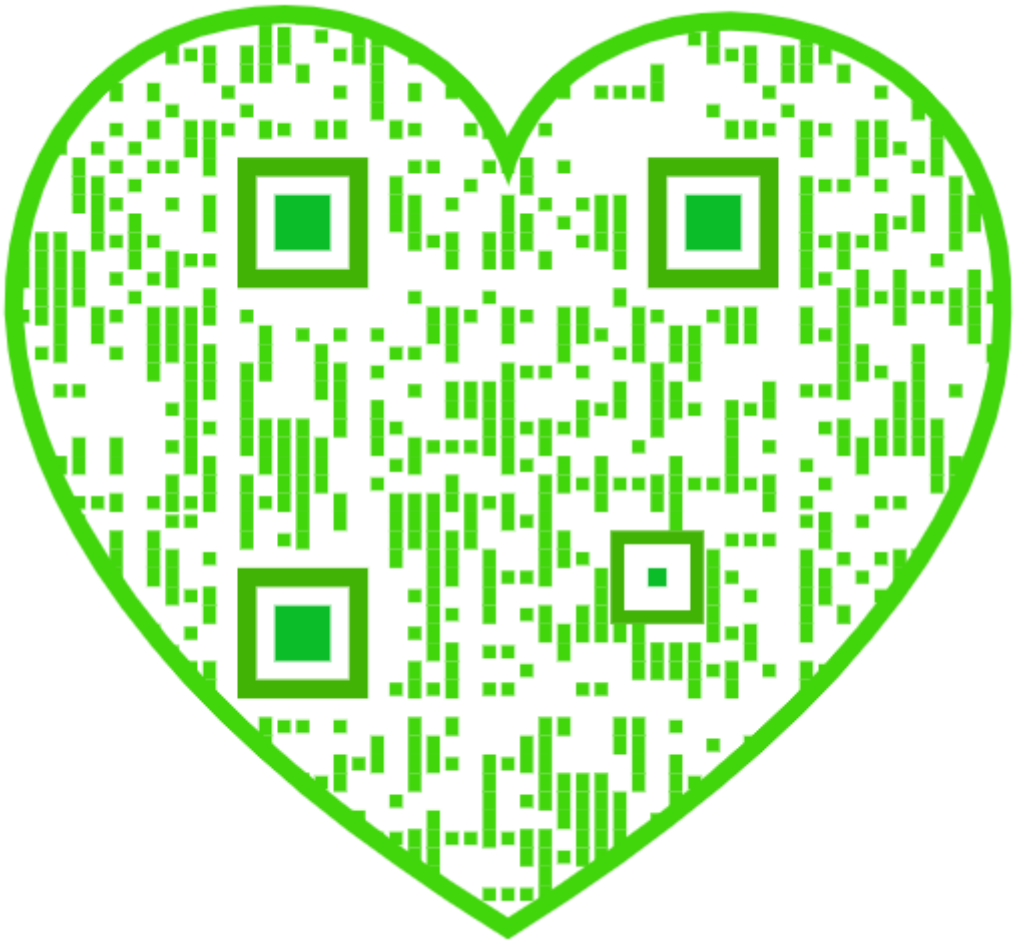

STUDIES IN ANCIENT FURNITURE

COUCHES AND BEDS OF THE GREEKS ETRUSCANS AND ROMANS

BY

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98491
22/9/09

CHICAGO
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
1905

PREFACE

This book was begun as an archæological study. At the last, however, in the hope that it might appeal also to certain lay readers, some statements have been introduced which would otherwise be superfluous. The task has been a very different one from that undertaken by a person writing on furniture of the last few hundred years, because the facts have had to be gleaned and pieced together from comparatively meager sources. The nature of the ancient evidence is set forth in the Introduction. In chap. 1 is given a rapid chronological survey of the forms of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman couches; in this chapter some forms rare on the monuments are noticed which have had to be ignored later because of lack of further evidence in regard to them. All statements as to provenience, dimensions, etc., of the material published in the plates, and longer discussions which would have interrupted the main trend of the general chapters, have been relegated to a section of the Supplementary Matter, "Discussion of Plates."

It would be useless to try to enumerate in all particulars the extent and nature of my indebtedness to previous writers. Some acknowledgments will be found in the footnotes, as well as references to some of the earlier results which it has not seemed necessary to summarize here. I have been most aided by the following treatises: Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern;* Mau, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, article Betten; Girard, in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, article Lectus; Graeven, *Antike Schnitzereien aus Elfenbein und Knochen.* Many references to passages in ancient authors have been obtained from the first three of the works just mentioned. For still other references I have to thank Professor F. B. Tarbell. Extensive independent foraging in ancient literature and inscriptions, and the discussion of purely philological questions apropos of beds, I must leave to specialists in the fields referred to.

This study would never have been attempted but for the material gradually accumulated in visits to various European museums. In the midst, however, of many other interests during student life abroad, my observations along this line were not always as detailed and accurate as I could now wish that they had been. It is also a matter of regret that the collections of bronzes in the Naples museum and in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome were inaccessible during my stay in Italy, and that I was unable to visit the museums in smaller Italian cities. I was greatly interested in provincial museums in England, France, and Germany, and

was impressed by the amount of material for the study of the industrial art of the Romans which is thus widely scattered. The beautiful damascened rail reproduced in Plate XIX, which was found not far from Lyons, France, is an illustration of this. I also hope by the publication of objects found in Egypt (Plates VII*a* and XXIX*a*) to emphasize another fruitful source of material for the history of late Greek and Roman industries. Excavations on classic sites and the consideration of the monuments gathered in the great national collections of Europe have chiefly absorbed the energies of classical archæologists up to this time. These more important activities have now reached a stage where greater attention may profitably be given to outlying fields. There is a vast work to do—on which beginnings here and there have been made—in examining the finds of sites removed from the centers of ancient civilization. It should be determined, as far as possible, how many of these objects were importations from older artistic centers, and their evidence should be added to better-known material for the study of the various minor arts of Greece and Rome. In the case of local products, local artistic forms should be distinguished from those showing more or less classic influence.

I cannot speak too warmly of the liberal treatment accorded the American student abroad both in museums and in universities in the departments in which I have had experience—Egyptian and Classical Archæology. Specific acknowledgment of hitherto unpublished material which I have been allowed to use will be made on the pages where it is discussed. My indebtedness to Professor Tarbell, of the University of Chicago, is very great. He was the one who, several years ago, awakened my interest in the furniture of the Greeks. Besides the service mentioned on the preceding page, I owe to his generous help many stimulating suggestions and the elimination of numerous errors, for all of which I wish to express here my sincere gratitude. I am also glad to add a word of grateful acknowledgment to the various other persons who by their kind advice and encouragement have helped me through the perplexities attendant upon the production of this book.

C. L. R.

CHICAGO, AUGUST, 1904.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Amelung, *Führer*	= Walther Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz.*
Am. Journ. Arch.	= *The American Journal of Archæology.*
Ann. d. I.	= *Annali dell' Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica.*
Ant. Denkm.	= *Antike Denkmäler.* A publication of the German Archæological Institute.
Anz.	= *Archäologischer Anzeiger.* Supplement to the *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts.*
Arch. Zeit.	= *Archäologische Zeitung.*
Athen. Mitt.	= *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.*
Baumeister	= A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.*
Beschr. der Glypt.	= Adolf Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München.*
Blümner, *Technologie*	= Hugo Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern.*
B. M. Bronzes	= H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.*
B. M. Terracottas	= H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.*
B. M. Vases	= *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum.*
Brizio	= Edoardo Brizio, in *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 1902, pp. 445 ff., "Tombe dell' epoca romana (ad umazione)."
Buchholz	= Buchholz, *Die homerischen Realien.*
Cat. des bronzes ant. de la Bibl. nat.	= Ernest Babelon and A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale.*
Compte-rendu	= *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique de Saint-Pétersbourg.*
Élite cér.	= Lenormant and De Witte, *Élite des monuments céramographiques.*
Furtwängler-Reichhold	= Adolf Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Die griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder.*
Girard	= P. Girard, in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, article Lectus.
Gjölbaschi-Trysa	= Otto Benndorf and George Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa.*
Graeven	= Hans Graeven, *Antike Schnitzereien aus Elfenbein und Knochen.*
Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*	= Paul Hartwig, *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles.*

Helbig, *Führer*	=Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom.*
I. G.	=*Inscriptiones Graecae.* The corpora of Greek inscriptions issued by the Berlin Academy will be cited according to the system recently introduced by Professor von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.
Jahrb.	=*Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts.*
Jahresh.	=*Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts.*
J. H. S.	=*The Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
Mau	=August Mau, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* article Betten.
Mon. d. I.	=*Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall' Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica.*
Monuments Piot	=*Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires.*
Pasqui	=A. Pasqui, in *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura dell' Accademia dei Lincei,* Vol. I (1889), article "Di un antico letto di osso scoperto in una tomba di Norcia."
Perrot and Chipiez	=Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité.*
Pottier, *Cat. des vases ant.*	=Edmond Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques du Musée du Louvre.*
Rayet and Collignon, *Cér. gr.*	=Olivier Rayet and Maxime Collignon, *L'histoire de la céramique grecque.*
Röm. Mitt.	=*Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.*
Schumacher	=Karl Schumacher, *Beschreibung der Sammlung antiker Bronzen zu Karlsruhe.*
Vases ant. du Louvre	=Edmond Pottier, *Album des vases antiques du Louvre.*
Verz. der ägypt. Altert.[2] Berlin	=*Ausführliches Verzeichniss der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse,*[2] Berlin.
Wien. Vorlegebl.	=*Wiener Vorlegeblätter für archäologische Übungen.*

INTRODUCTION

ANCIENT SOURCES

LITERARY

The only extensive extant attempt on the part of an ancient author to impart information in regard to furniture was made by the Greek lexicographer Pollux, who lived in the second century A. D. In his subject dictionary, embracing many phases of public and private life, is a collection of words and quotations from earlier writers apropos of beds and their furnishings.[1] These follow one another with few explanations, and their meanings are in many cases obscure. Explicit and detailed definitions after the manner of a *Century Dictionary* did not enter into Pollux's conception of his task. In the treatise on the Latin language by Varro (116–27 B. C.),[2] parts of which are preserved, are some fantastic ideas about the derivations of words referring to beds. Only the late lexicographers—Isidorus (seventh century A. D.), Suidas (tenth century A. D.), and those followed by Stephanus—give proper definitions. Their opinions are often helpful, especially when they support them by passages from earlier authors; otherwise there is always the possibility that usage may have changed since classical times.

Aside from the sections pertaining to beds in the works just named, there are numerous incidental references in ancient literature, which are mostly, however, tantalizing from the point of view of any one interested in this class of antiquities. For instance, the dream recounted by Cicero[3] of an egg suspended from the cords of a bedstead does not leave one any the wiser as to the appearance of beds or the method of cording them. There is not in all later literature another so detailed description of a bed as the Homeric one of the bed of Odysseus;[4] yet that is altogether indefinite in regard to design and technic. Some passages such as that just referred to give information about the materials used in constructing beds or the makes of beds and furnishings which were famous in antiquity. Otherwise, except for the names applied to beds or their several parts or furnishings,[5] the literary sources yield little.

Even this is more than literature affords for some other branches of ancient industrial art, as for instance the potter's; but the want of full literary evidence is felt more in this case because the monumental evidence also is far from satisfactory.

MONUMENTAL

[1] *Onomastikon*, VI, 9 ff., and X, 32 ff.

[2] *De Lingua Latina;* see Book V, 35, 166–68.

[3] *De Div.*, II, 134.

[4] See p. 39, n. 1.

[5] On pp. 109 ff. is given a table of terminology. Philologists have yet something to do in determining with greater exactitude the usage of these words. It is to be hoped that such useful articles as those of Professor Anderson and Professor Mau, defining *fulcrum*, may be followed by others (see p. 111, n. 16).

A student of Greek vases can never at least be at a loss to know how the subjects of his researches looked, since they have survived in vast quantities to the present day, even though he may not know all that he would like to about the standing of potters in Athens and kindred questions. But in the investigation of ancient beds, as will appear, there are many fundamental problems of form and construction to which the ancient sources, literary and monumental taken together, do not furnish adequate answers.

Brief Summary of Monumental Evidence

A bronze Etruscan bed exists from the seventh century B. C.[1] Then there is a long break until the middle of the third century B. C., from which time we have parts of a single bed. There is another bed from about 200 B. C., possibly the only one from the second century. Extant beds or parts of beds dating from the centuries immediately preceding and following Christ's birth are numerous, but at some time, possibly as late as in the second century A. D., the series breaks off.

Original Pieces

Next to the real article, which is abundant only for a limited period, the best evidence in regard to Greek and Roman beds is derived from full-sized reproductions in marble or terra-cotta, of which there are not a few ranging in date from the sixth century B. C. to the third or fourth century A. D. There are also other terra-cotta couches of varying size down to numerous small ones under 40 cm. in length, which last are chiefly from the Hellenistic period. Otherwise dependence must be placed upon relief sculpture, wall-paintings, and vase decorations in which beds appear. The reliefs are the principal source of information in regard to late Roman beds (second century and later), and they give occasional aid throughout the entire time under consideration. Etruscan wall-paintings of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. show couches of the period of the paintings. Wall decorations of Roman date cannot be taken as evidence for contemporary forms (see the next paragraph). Vase-paintings are of the greatest importance for the sixth and fifth centuries B. C.

Full-sized Reproductions

Smaller Reproductions in the Round

Reliefs, Paintings on Walls and Vases

The extant original beds and parts of beds are comparable, so far as they go, to the material at the disposal of one studying pottery. Like the vases, they are often incomplete and difficult of interpretation, but there is a greater chance of arriving at the facts with the objects of inquiry actually before one. As soon as recourse is had to ancient reproductions all kinds of allowances must be made. The few full-sized reproductions in the round are most helpful because they give the details and proportions of a design with greater accuracy. Yet even here there is the possibility of modifications from the every-day beds which were the models,

Difficulties in Using Monumental Evidence

[1] A few fragmentary remains of pieces of furniture—one a bed—found in a tomb of the seventh century B. C. are mentioned in the preliminary report of the excavations at Gordion in Asia Minor (*Jahrb.*, Vol. XVI [1901], *Anz.*, p. 8). However, from G. and A. KÖRTE, *Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900* (*Jahrb., Ergänzungsheft V*), p. 49, it appears that the remains of the so-called κλίνη were too slight to be of any value for this study.

due to the medium of reproduction; this is particularly likely in a transference of forms into stone.[1] For the same reason one may not be sure always what the materials were in the structure reproduced. The smaller the reproduction, as a rule, the less one gets of details. The small terra-cotta given in the frontispiece is a happy exception to this rule; if we possessed even one such for each century covered in this dissertation, there would be fewer doubtful points. Yet all reproductions in the round, however sketchy, have an advantage over those on flat surfaces in giving with greater probability the proportions and general lines of a design. In using later reliefs and wall-paintings, those which are copied directly from earlier productions or are more or less eclectic must be carefully distinguished from those (Roman soldiers' gravestones, for instance) which may be trusted to show forms of the period in which they were made. With regard to vase-paintings, which in the number of the representations of beds which they furnish are far in excess of all other classes of reproductions, there are two important questions; viz., how far allowance must be made for artistic conventions, and how far the relative frequency with which certain forms appear on the vases is a guide to the relative frequency of their actual use. Often it is impossible to control the evidence in these particulars.[2]

It may be of interest to consider how these beds, both the originals and the various antique reproductions with which we have to deal, stood in relation to the every-day life of the periods which they represent. The Greek and Roman bed or couch had a double importance in that it was used for reclining at meals as well as for sleeping. There is nothing to indicate that there was any differentiation in form in accordance with difference of function in the Greek period. Couches for both purposes are called by the common name κλῖναι, and probably in many instances the same structure was used both for dining and sleeping. In Italy there is a distinct name for the sleeping-couch as distinguished from the banquet couch,[3] but it is probable that the differences were minor ones.[4] We hear in Latin literature also of couches for reading and writing.[5] The surviving couches and parts of couches

[1] *Cf.* the question raised on p. 95.

[2] An instance of a recognizable artistic convention is seen on black-figured vases and red-figured vases of the severe style in the side-view of thrones having rectangular, incised legs. This class of throne is frequent enough in reproductions in the round from the Branchidæ statues down to late forms such as that shown in the tailpiece of chap. 4 to prove that the legs presented invariably a broad ornamented front and a narrow unornamented side. Yet on the vases in question the most ornate and advantageous view of the legs is given even when the chair is seen from the side, a front-view of the legs being thus combined with a side-view of the rest of the chair.

[3] The first, *lectus cubicularis;* the second, *lectus tricliniaris.*

[4] See on p. 33 the statements in regard to head-rests and foot-rests on sleeping and banquet couches.

[5] *Lecticula lucubratoria*, SUET., *Aug.* 78; M. Girard (GIRARD, p. 1022) calls attention to the fact that this passage proves the study-couch to be a piece of furniture distinct from the bed. Professor

of late Greek and Roman date served probably in the main for banqueting;[1] there may be among them a few which were used for sleeping. Those found in tombs may or may not have seen actual non-funerary use,[2] but, like the marble reproductions in tombs and the terra-cotta cinerary urns in couch form, they represent either dining-couches or sleeping-couches, according to the ideas of the particular tomb cult.[3] The marble couch discussed on pp. 93 ff. was not found in a tomb, but in the ruins of the Library at Pergamon. Perhaps it was placed out of doors or in some open colonnade and was used by priests or visitors; or, whatever its position, it may have been sacred to some divinity.[4] Most of the small terra-cotta couches of the Hellenistic period and later, and the Roman couches known in reliefs, are structures which seem much more like modern couches and sofas than like modern beds (*cf.* p. 38). They are narrow, piled up with cushions, and usually have people seated on them conversing, or lying loosely covered upon them. So far as one can judge, they were used to sleep on at night and lounge on in the daytime;[5] at least, we have no representations, among these terra-cottas and reliefs, of other

Mau (MAU, col. 371) thinks that diminutives (OV., *Trist.*, I, 11, 37, and PLIN., *Ep.*, V, 5, 5) point to smaller size and remarks that such smaller couches are frequent on the monuments. His further statement, "natürlich musste dieser *lectus eine Lehne* (*pluteus*, PERS., I, 106) *haben, die auch dienen konnte, um darauf zu schreiben*," does not seem to me to be supported by the monuments. I cannot name any ancient reproduction showing a reclining person actually in the act of reading or writing. While no couches for reading or writing have been identified with certainty, it seems to me not improbable, as Professor Mau suggests, that some of the smaller Roman couches (*cf.* on point of length, n. 5 and pp. 37, 38) known through monumental evidence may have been used for these purposes. It should be noted, however, that study couches were not invariably designated by the diminutive form; *cf.* PERS., I, 52, and SEN., *Ep.*, 72, 2.

[1] This opinion is based principally on the circumstances of finding, in a few cases, and the Dionysiac character, more appropriate to a dining-couch than to a sleeping-couch (see pp. 85, 86), of much of the ornament.

[2] The bone couch discussed on pp. 102 ff. is far too weak a piece of construction actually to have been used. Such beds were no doubt made expressly to serve as funerary couches. *Cf.* PASQUI, col. 241.

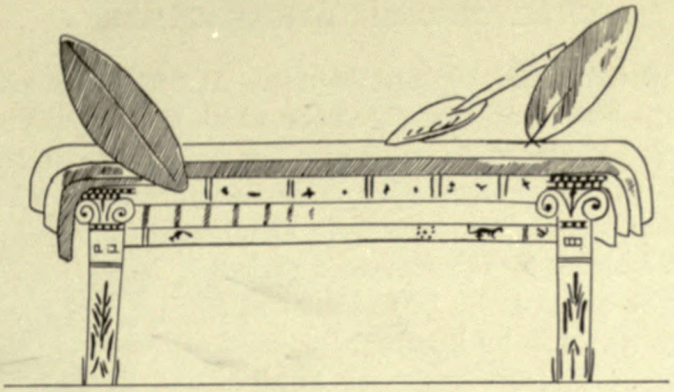
[3] See Plate I, where a recumbent figure in his last sleep is represented, and Fig. 14, where the person is sitting up holding a drinking-vessel. The representation of the deceased banqueting is far more common. *Cf.* ALTMAN, *Architectur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage*, pp. 34, 35.

[4] *Cf.* the fourth-century marble reproduction of a couch dedicated to Dione on the Acropolis at Athens (the inscription, Δελτίον Αρχαιολογικόν, 1890, p. 145, 3; mentioned, FURTWÄNGLER, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 429, n. 12), and the representation in stone of a couch dedicated to Asclepius at Epidaurus ('Εφημερὶς Αρχαιολογική, 1883, col. 27, 3, and FURTWÄNGLER, *loc. cit.*). Professor Furtwängler (*loc. cit.*, pp. 429, 430) advances some interesting opinions in regard to the ritual use of real couches which were dedicated in sanctuaries, and cites the dedications at Platæa and in the Parthenon (mentioned here with references to ancient sources on pp. 41 and 54, n. 3), and others noted by PAUSANIAS (II, 17, 3; VIII, 47, 2; X, 32, 12). In the case, however, of the couches dedicated to Hera at Platæa the text does not, to my mind, make certain that these couches were placed within the sanctuary rather than in the adjacent inn.

[5] But a few couches must have been intended only for waking use, as they are too short to sleep on in comfort; that is, if the reproductions are accurate in the relative sizes of couches and occupants. See further on this point, pp. 37, 38.

styles of beds used for sleeping. The pictures of couches on vases are restricted to certain stock scenes, chiefly of banqueting and of the laying out of the dead. The banqueting scenes in the red-figured period are, as a rule, pure genre; earlier the participants are usually mythological characters. The later red-figured pottery shows mythological personages seated or lounging on couches. On vases, as elsewhere, the sleeping-couch is of rare or doubtful occurrence.[1]

[1] *Cf.*, however, Fig. 37, from the death scene of Adonis and the surer instance on a bronze mirror, cited in n. 1 on p. 38; also a terra-cotta in the British Museum (mentioned with reference p. 33, n. 4), too rude, however, to give a fair idea of a good bed.



CHAPTER I

CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY OF FORMS

PREHISTORIC

For the prehistoric period direct monumental evidence fails us. We can infer that a people which produced such works of art as have been found in the palace at Cnossus, and particularly chairs of such a developed form as the one of stone in the throne-room, must also have had highly ornate bedsteads. Among Mycenæan remains there is evidence for a furniture industry (which presumably would include also beds) in various terra-cotta models of armchairs.[1] The Homeric writings, while making clear that people sat in chairs to eat, and frequently slept on the ground, yet establish beyond doubt that beds were a common household article. Except the facts, however, that some had turned legs, and that, while some were portable, others occupied a fixed position in the house, and therefore are likely to have been of heavier construction,[2] we get no hints as to their forms. There is absolutely no evidence to identify any of the forms familiar to us on later monuments as survivals from the prehistoric age.[3]

General

Throughout the Greek period the better-made couches fall into two general classes, those with legs built on a rectangular plan and those with turned supports.

[1] In the Berlin Antiquarium is such a model, inventory No. 7812, from the Lecuyer Collection. See also SCHLIEMANN, *Tiryns*, Plate XXIII*c*. These are referred to in FURTWÄNGLER, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 429, n. 9.

[2] This statement is based on BUCHHOLZ, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 147 ff.

[3] Professor HELBIG in *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*[2], p. 124, dismisses furniture with the remark: "Die Andeutungen, welche das Epos über die niedrigeren lehnenlosen Sessel (δίφρος), die Schemel (θρῆνυς, σφέλας), die Tische (τράπεζα) und die Betten (λέχεα) macht, sind zu dürftig, als dass sie sich zu erhaltenen oder auf Bildwerken dargestellten Exemplaren in Beziehung setzen liessen." BUCHHOLZ (pp. 155–57) is in the realm of hypothesis when he attempts a concrete, though sketchy, picture of the δέμνια in the words: "Sie bestanden wohl aus einem Complex von hölzernen Brettern, welche der Länge nach über zwei oder mehrere Untersätze oder Tragböcke gelegt wurden, und mit diesen gleichsam einen kleinen Aufbau (δέμω) bildeten, welche für die Aufnahme des Bettwerkes sowohl, wie auch des Schläfers, die erfordliche Tragfähigkeit besass."

In the Roman period turned legs are the rule. At first the couches were a mere framework of legs bearing a flat surface upon which bedding was piled. Then the upper part gradually assumed importance; low headboards and often also footboards appeared; these became higher in Roman times, and a back was added. It is possible that some late couches were upholstered.

GREEK

Eighth Century

The scanty evidence for the geometric period shows two simple patterns of legs (Fig. 1, and headpiece, chap. 3),[1] and no headboard or footboard. One at least of the styles of bed-legs

Attica

from this early period may be of turned work, the prototype of a form which appears on fifth-century vases.[2]

Fig. 1.—Body lying in state. Seated and standing mourners. Part of a Dipylon vase-painting.—*Louvre.*

Seventh Century

The seventh century is nearly a blank to us.[3]

Attica

No doubt the types just noted continued in use in Attica, if they were not more widely diffused. The low bronze bed with five heavy round legs, slightly higher than the frame and—what is especially notable—a low head-rest, which was

Etruria

found in a tomb in ancient Tarquinii, and is now in the Etruscan museum of the Vatican,[4] is attributed to the seventh century.

Sixth Century, first half

Arriving at the beginning of the sixth century, we have a fair amount of material as to Corinthian beds on the large craters which are the culmination of the potter's industry in that city at the close of its long early era of prosperity.[5] Both

Corinth

turned and rectangular legs abound. The turned legs are not of the simple Attic design seen on the Dipylon vases, but are heavier and more elaborate, and are all of the one pattern given in Fig. 2.[6] All the beds are draped so that the union of legs and supported portion is invisible; as there is no additional height at the head, it is improbable that they had head-rests. The rectangular legs vary in pattern and are of great importance as showing the earliest examples, still in an undeveloped stage, of what became later the most popular and widespread design for elegant

[1] *Cf.* also Rayet and Collignon, *Cér. gr.*, p. 27, Fig. 19.

[2] *Cf.* Fig. 1 with Fig. 28, and the statement on p. 23 with that on p. 27. The resemblance may perhaps seem to the passing reader very slight. It must be granted that the Dipylon drawings are extremely rude material upon which to base an identification, yet the convex curve of the upper extremity of the legs is clear in them and is the distinctive feature—one which does not recur in other turned patterns—of the sixth-century and fifth-century furniture leg in question.

[3] See also p. 14, n. 1.

[4] Baumeister, Vol. I, Fig. 326*b* = Girard, Figs. 4394, 4395 = *Museo etrusco gregoriano*, Vol. I, Plate XV.

[5] Pottier, *Cat. des vases ant.*, Part II, pp. 478 ff.

[6] Rayet and Collignon, *Cér. gr.*, Plate 6 = De Longpérier, *Musée Napoléon III*, Plates XXII and XXXIV = *Vases ant. du Louvre*, Series I, Plate 48, E 635. *Cf.* E 634 and Plate 46, E 630 and Plate 45, E 623.

chairs and couches. They are at this time clumsy and heavy, if the vase decorator's drawing is to be trusted. Two characteristic examples are given in Figs. 35[1] and 3.[2] In Fig. 35 the contours of the legs are unbroken, but there is an ornamental pattern of palmettes occupying the full field afforded by each leg; again, the top of the bed is covered by drapery, but its even surface is an indication that there is no headboard. In Fig. 3 the full bed shows and is without headrest; two large rosettes adorn the top of the legs, and, what is especially significant, their contours are interrupted toward the bottom by incisions; slighter pieces widening in the middle connect the upper part with the equally heavy foot; what seem to be intended for palmettes occupy the space between the incisions and the rosettes. Fig. 4[3] shows a further stage of Figs. 35 and 3. Palmettes appear as in Fig. 35; the full bedframe is exposed as in Fig. 3, with the addition of a low headboard and still lower footboard, the sides of which are a continuance of the legs above the frame; on these appear for the first time volutes. This bed is on a hydria of more advanced form and decoration than the various vases on which occur the two forms just described. It seems likely, therefore, that it is of later date, though M. Pottier thinks that the group to which it belongs may equally well be contemporaneous with the less advanced-looking vases.[4]

FIG. 2.—Heracles reclining upon a dining-couch in the house of Eurytus. Detail from a Corinthian vase-painting.—*Louvre.*

FIG. 3.—Banquet-couch. Detail from a Corinthian vase-painting.

Attica

These early turned and rectangular types seem to have been known also in Attica in the first half of the sixth century. A black-figured vase from Vourva given in the *Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. XV (1890), Plate XII, shows a form similar to that of the Corinthian bed of Fig. 2, and on an unpublished vase of the Berlin Antiquarium, No. 1755, are beds with incised legs, as yet without headboards or footboards and their accompanying volutes.

[1] *Cf. Vases ant. du Louvre*, Series I, Plate 46, E 629, and *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. II (1887), Plate XI–XII, 4, and p. 259.

[2] *Cf. Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, Plate XI, 4 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. VI, Plate XIV.

[3] E 643 of the Louvre Collection. *Cf. Vases ant. du Louvre*, Series I, Plate 51.

[4] POTTIER, *Cat. des vases ant.*, Part II, p. 484.

Chalcis (?)

Toward the middle of the century, for the center of the manufacture of Chalcidian vases—Chalcis probably—there is evidence, so far as I have found published vases of that class, only for turned legs. The Copenhagen vase (Baumeister, Vol. I, Fig. 19=*Arch. Zeit.*, 1866, Plate 206) also shows a bed similar to the Corinthian one of Fig. 2, although, as might be expected, the legs are not of identical pattern with the Corinthian example. The bed on the "Phineus" vase, however, has new elements and is reproduced here in Fig. 5. For the first time in the case of a bed with heavy turned legs the frame is visible, and there is a headboard, but no footboard. The legs at the head are higher than the frame, and are elaborately turned above where they form the supports of the head-rest.

Fig. 4.—The body of Achilles lying in state. Detail from a Corinthian vase-painting.—*Louvre.*

Sixth Century, second half

Etruria

The bed with no head-rest and with incised legs appears on two Etruscan monuments, which on grounds of style may be placed early in the second half of the sixth century. The first, in the Archæological Museum at Florence (No. 213, Amelung, *Führer*, p. 190), is a relief which has under the bed between the legs a representation of mourning women a curious parallel in relief sculpture to the imperfect perspective of the prothesis scene as depicted on Dipylon vases. The second is the well-known large terra-cotta sarcophagus of the British Museum[1] on which, in a relief of banqueters at the back, beds appear (tailpiece, chap. 1).

Fig. 5.—Phineus reclining on a dining-couch. Detail from a Chalcidian vase-painting.—*Würzburg.*

During the main part of the period now under consideration, however, and on into the beginning of the fifth century, beds of either turned or rectangular legs, so far as we know them, had low head-

Attica

boards. The normal Attic type with rectangular legs having incisions (Fig. 27) is familiar to us from hundreds of black-figured vase-paintings. It always had volutes at the head and never at the foot of the bed, rosettes or stars ornamenting the legs

[1] For references see p. 76, n. 2.

near the top, and the characteristic incisions (real or depicted)[1] two-thirds of the way to the ground, with palmette ornaments above and below them. The long sides of the bed were formed by connecting-pieces, which were not very wide and were often ornamented by rosettes set at intervals or by a mæander. The legs at the lower end of the bed often, but not invariably, rose higher than the frame; in those cases there was—to judge from the position of the mattress—a footboard, which was lower, however, than the headboard. The beds were almost without exception very high.[2] This is the invariable type on vases of the developed black-figured style. But it is impossible to believe that it was the only kind of bed common in Attica at this time. It is far too ornate for ordinary use, and this very characteristic would account for its popularity with the masters of the black-figured style, who were fond of ornamental details. (*Cf.* p. 25.)

FIG 6.—Woman spinning, seated upon a couch. Fragment of a terra-cotta plaque.—*Athens.*

A type of turned leg, probably recognizable on Dipylon vases (p. 20), is seen on stools in reliefs[3] of this period. And, as it reappears on the monuments as a bed-support in the next century, it seems reasonable to assume that it had never since its introduction gone out of use (see further on this point on p. 27). Another turned pattern is positively vouched for in some terra-cotta plaques in the Acropolis museum (Fig. 6), where a woman is seated spinning, not "on a long bench," as the publisher of the plaques describes her, but on a couch—and probably at the head.[4] (*Cf.* Figs. 5, 7, and 8.)

In Etruria, the bed with rectangular, incised legs appears in the form of large terra-cotta sarcophagi. An example in the Museo di Papa Giulio, Rome, is shown in Fig. 43.[5] These are lower for their length than Attic beds of this class. Another Etruscan representation in terra-cotta of such a bed, a small cinerary urn, which is published by M. Heuzey in *Recherches sur les lits antiques*, p. 192, has the high proportions usual in beds as pictured on Attic vases. Etruria

[1] The question as to the actual cutting out of the legs in cases such as the bed shown in Fig. 4 will be discussed later, p. 45, n. 1.

[2] Among the few exceptions are very low beds of this type on a black-figured cylix in the British Museum, No. B 679.

[3] *E. g.*, "Harpy Monument."

[4] The upper part of the headpost is restored in Fig. 6, but the form is guaranteed by a preserved fragment of another plaque from the same mold.

[5] *Cf.* the Louvre example, BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 549=DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoléon III*, Plate XXXV=*Mon. d. I.*, Vol. VI, Plate LI.

Reliefs on cinerary urns show very commonly beds with turned legs such as that given in Fig. 7[1] on an urn from Chiusi in the British Museum. The same type appears also in wall-paintings (Fig. 8)[2] and even on bucchero vases.[3] These resemble the Chalcidian bed (Fig. 5), with this difference that the legs at the lower end of the bed rise above the level of the frame, although not to the height of the legs at the head, and may have supported a low footboard.

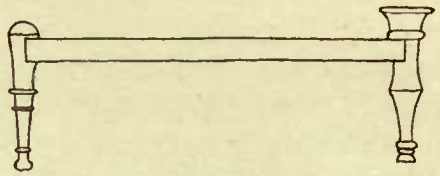


Fig. 7.—Etruscan couch. Detail from the relief-decoration of a limestone cinerary urn.—*British Museum.*

Fifth Century The styles of beds just mentioned prevailed on into the fifth century; indeed, some of the examples already cited may possibly belong to the earlier years of the fifth century. An Etruscan mirror (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Plate CXXV) and a wall-painting in Tarquinii (*Mon. d. I.*, Vol. I, Plate XXXII) show the same type of bed, with many turnings on the headpost above the frame, which we noted first on the Chalcidian vase (Fig. 5) and have just followed in later instances (Figs. 7 and 8), and shall encounter again in Attica.

An Etruscan cinerary urn of the early fifth century, however, (Plate I) presents a new variety of the class with incised legs. This has the legs at head and foot alike in height and in being terminated above by volutes; instead of a slight rail, as in all previous examples, there is one reaching in width almost to the incisions and marked off by various moldings into two panels, the upper plain, the lower occupied by a relief, in the middle two lions attacking a bull, at each end a recumbent human figure.

An Etruscan wall-painting (*Ant. Denkm.*, II, Plate 43), belonging, to judge from its style, to the same period as the Attic severe red-figured vases, has rectangular legs sloping toward the bottom, such as are found in Attica, as we shall see, in the same period. Both the legs and the slender rail are ornamented with a simple mæander.

Attica Red-figured vases afford as abundant evidence with regard to fifth-century beds in Attica as do black-figured vases for the sixth century. It is again a question, however, how this evidence is to be interpreted. There is a decided predominance of very plain beds in these vase-paintings. A recent writer[4] concludes, therefore, that there was a radical change of taste early in the fifth century, due perhaps

[1] There is a whole series of archaic Etruscan limestone urns from Chiusi in the British Museum in Cases 27, 34, and 35 of the first Etruscan room, on which are beds of the form shown in Fig. 7. *Cf.* Martha, *L'art étrusque*, p. 279, Fig. 187.

[2] Martha, *ibid.*, p. 383, Fig. 262 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. IX, Plate XIII, from the tomb *dei vasi dipinti*. *Cf.* Martha, *ibid.*, p. 430, Fig. 285 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. II, Plate II.

[3] *Vases ant. du Louvre*, Series I, Plate 26, C 639.

[4] Girard, p. 1017.

to Spartan influence, which led to the almost complete banishment of the luxurious couch pictured on black-figured vases in favor of very plain styles. But may there not be another explanation? The painters of the early red-figured vases were occupied with problems of drawing and technic, and cared less than their story-telling predecessors for mere elaborate details, requiring patience, but no new skill. Further, they were interested in scenes from contemporary life, and every-day personages could be represented on every-day beds, whereas for the gods and heroes of the black-figured period the best in the way of beds which fact

FIG. 8.—Banqueting-scene. Detail from a wall-painting in an Etruscan tomb.—*Corneto-Tarquinia.*

and fancy could suggest would have been none too good. It seems to me, therefore, probable that in the great variety of beds represented on red-figured vases we have that which is lacking for the black-figured period—something approaching a complete catalogue of the forms actually in use, of common as well as of elegant beds.

The occasional occurrence on red-figured vases[1] of the older elaborate type of bed with rectangular, incised legs testifies to its existence unmodified until at least the middle of the century. Within this time the related design already

[1] See BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 791 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. VIII, Plate 27; OVERBECK, *Atlas der Kunstmythologie*, Plate VI, 2 and 3 = GIRARD, Fig. 4388; *Monuments Piot*, Vol. I (1894), Plate VII, and Vol. IX (1902), Plate II, and HARTWIG, *Meisterschalen*, Plate LXX, 2.

noted in one Etruscan example (Plate I), which has the legs at the head and foot of equal height and all terminating above in volutes, makes an appearance in Attica (headpiece, chap. 1).

Other styles of beds show the influence of the chief type known through black-figured vases in having a head-rest and volutes at the head of the bed and shorter legs at the foot. They do not have incisions or palmettes, rosettes, or other ornaments; the legs differ further from incised legs in that they taper more or less toward the bottom and sometimes have, almost at the ground-line, ring-like or ball-like interruptions of their otherwise straight outlines (Figs. 26 and 9).[1] A few vase-paintings show similar beds with a vase-like termination of the legs at the head instead of volutes (Fig. 22).[2]

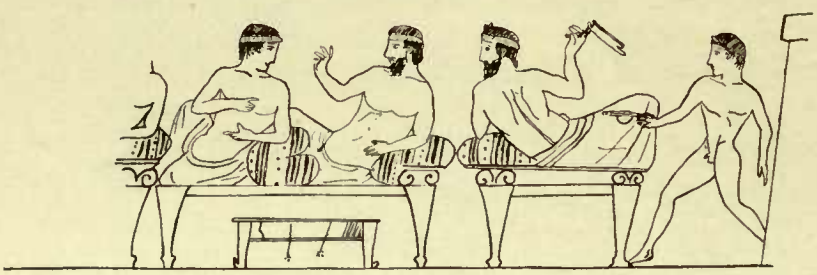


FIG. 9.—Banqueting-scene. Detail from a red-figured vase-painting.—*Corneto-Tarquinia.*

But even plainer beds than these were frequent—frameworks of rectangular, straight legs and connecting rails, without head-rests or adornment (Fig. 25). Other beds are completely hidden by drapery; the presumption is that they were of very rough construction.[3]

Among rude common beds were two styles known each in only a few representations (Figs. 23 and 24).[4] This seems a recognizable instance when the relative frequency of forms on vases is not a safe criterion of their relative frequency in actual use. (*Cf.* p. 15.) One might indeed be inclined to think these the chance creations of the vase-painters, were it not that the forms of the legs are known on stools; they were, therefore, in all probability copies of existent beds.

The same argument applies to certain beds with turned legs of a simple and

[1] *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, Series D, Plate XII, 3 *b* = *Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, p. 103, Fig. 109 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. X, Plate LIII, 1; *Compte-rendu*, 1869, Plate VI; MILLINGEN, *Peintures antiques de vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill*, Plate VIII; *Jahrb.*, Vol. V (1890), *Anz.*, p. 89; DE RIDDER, *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Part II, Plate XXVIII, No. 940. The unpublished vases E 453 and E 454 of the British Museum also show the same type of bed as Figs. 26 and 9 above.

[2] *Cf. Collection Camille Lecuyer. Terrecuites antiques*, Vol. II, E 5.

[3] *E. g.*, MILLIN-REINACH, *Peintures de vases antiques*, I, 59, and LE BAS-REINACH, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, Plate 54 = FRIEDRICHS-WOLTERS, *Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, No. 1059.

[4] There is a similar bed pictured on the British Museum cylix E 38, which was painted by Epictetus, and another on a psycter in the museum at Corneto (Moscioni, photograph No. 8254).

graceful pattern illustrated in Fig. 28. This is probably the earliest type of bed-leg found on Attic monuments, and it appears afterward only on a few red-figured vases of the severe style. But, considering the frequency of this particular pattern of turned work on stools, evidenced by numerous reliefs[1] and vase-paintings, it seems probable that the beds of which we have these slight glimpses at two widely distant periods were common in Attica from the Dipylon age at least through the fifth century. The fifth-century examples differ from the very early ones in the addition of a head-rest; just how long this style continued in vogue is impossible to say.

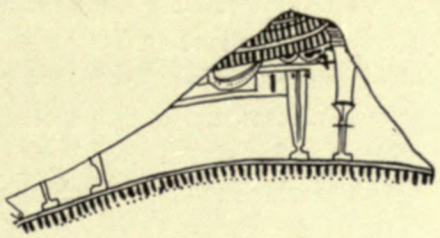


FIG. 10.—Part of a dining-couch. Fragment of a red-figured vase.—*Found at Menidi.*

As in Etruria so in Attica heavy turned legs, higher at the head than the frame of the bed, are also found in the fifth century. One example is given from a severe red-figured vase fragment (Fig. 10), and there are numerous othe s.[2]

In the latter half of the century there is an innovation in the introduction upon headboards and footboards of uprights which are curved in outline and no longer have the appearance of being of one piece with the legs (Figs. 11 and 44). These occur in combination with both turned and rectangular legs. Modifications, which are common later, from the old design of rectangular, incised legs probably began to appear after the middle of the century.

FIG. 11.—Theseus slaying Procrustes. Detail from a vase signed by Aison.—*Madrid.*

The most important fifth-century monuments neither Attic nor Etruscan showing beds are the Gjölbaschi reliefs. On these the couches are all draped, but the legs are sufficiently exposed to show that they are about equally divided be:ween turned and

Lycia

[1] *Cf.* my remarks, *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 133 and Fig. 9 and STUDNICZKA, recently in the same publication, Vol. XIX (1904), p. 4.

[2] See POTTIER, *Études sur les lécythes blancs attiques*, Plate I; *Ann. d. I.*, 1868, Plate C; the two instances just cited have many turnings on the upper part of the legs at the head, as in Fig. 10 above. The following probably belongs to the same class, *J. H. S.* Vol. VII (1887), p. 440, as the legs at the foot have the same form as above in Fig. 7; the upper part of the leg at the head of the bed is destroyed. The turned legs shown in MURRAY, *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum*, Plate XV, No. 60 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. V, Plate XLIX, and in GERHARD, *Coupes et vases du Musée de Berlin*, Plate H, are somewhat different in design, more like the form which appears above in Fig. 6.

incised types.[1] A little Bœotian terra-cotta couch (*Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. X [1885], Plate IV), dating from the early part of the century, is unfortunately too rude to be entirely trustworthy and clear as to form, but it seems to have plain, rectangular legs and, what is particularly interesting thus early, at the two ends very high rests slightly curved outward.

Fourth Century

The material for the next few hundred years until the Roman period is not nearly so abundant as for the fifth century and is geographically from widely scattered sources. Fourth-century beds, so far as we know them, belong to the two general classes, those with rectangular and those with turned legs, and are adaptations of older styles.

Eubœa

A marble funerary couch in a tomb at Eretria (*Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. XXVI [1901], Plate XIII) shows the differentiation of head and foot familiar in beds on the black-figured vases, but the rectangular legs have lost their characteristic incisions and rosettes. The *amphicephalous* variant of the older type, however, has become the prevailing one, and the legs never present the exact scheme of ornament familiar from an earlier period. Now the rosettes are lacking, and the palmettes and incisions occupy the legs entirely to the rails,[2] or the rosettes are replaced by medallions in which are faces,[3] or the incisions disappear and the leg is covered with ornamental details which nevertheless are reminiscences in part of the older style (frontispiece). Wide rails are now common, or there are two, a wide upper one and a narrow lower one. This last arrangement is characteristic of the Macedonian funerary couches of marble (see Fig. 12), dating, according to their discoverer, from the close of the century. The constructional lines of the terra-cotta model given in the colored plate are like those of the Macedonian couches; the space between the rails is here filled in with reliefs, which look inconveniently high; further, the place of the volutes is taken in this especially rich couch by panels in low relief, representing figures in rapid motion.

South Italian vases show curved rests on beds with rectangular legs—beds similar to the fifth-century example given, only more elaborate, with ornamented rail and the foot decorated with various moldings, and in one instance with figures.[4]

One of the earliest representatives of its class, perhaps belonging to the close of the fourth century, is a marble funerary couch in a tomb at Vathia on the island of Eubœa (*Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. XXVI [1901], Plate XVI, here Fig. 38). This has

[1] *Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, *cf.* Plates VII, VIII with Plates XX, XXI.

[2] *Jahrb.*, Vol. XV (1900), p. 78, Fig. 13 = *Arch. Zeit.*, 1867, Plate 220.

[3] *Mon. d. I.*, 1854, Plate 16. There is a possibility that this and the preceding example may belong to the closing years of the fifth century rather than to the opening of the fourth, where I would place them.

[4] BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 792 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. V, Plate XI and *Élite cér.* Vol. II, Plate 23A = *B. M. Vases*, Vol. IV, F. 399. Like the vases cited in the two preceding notes these may however date from the close of the fifth century.

a curved rest at the head, but none at the foot. Its turned legs are of a pattern differing distinctly from earlier ones. There are more members; the three rings above and the introduction toward the bottom of a nonturned member—in this case claws—are features common on many subsequent examples. It is noticeable in the end-view that the supports at the back of the couch are of a different pattern from those at the front.

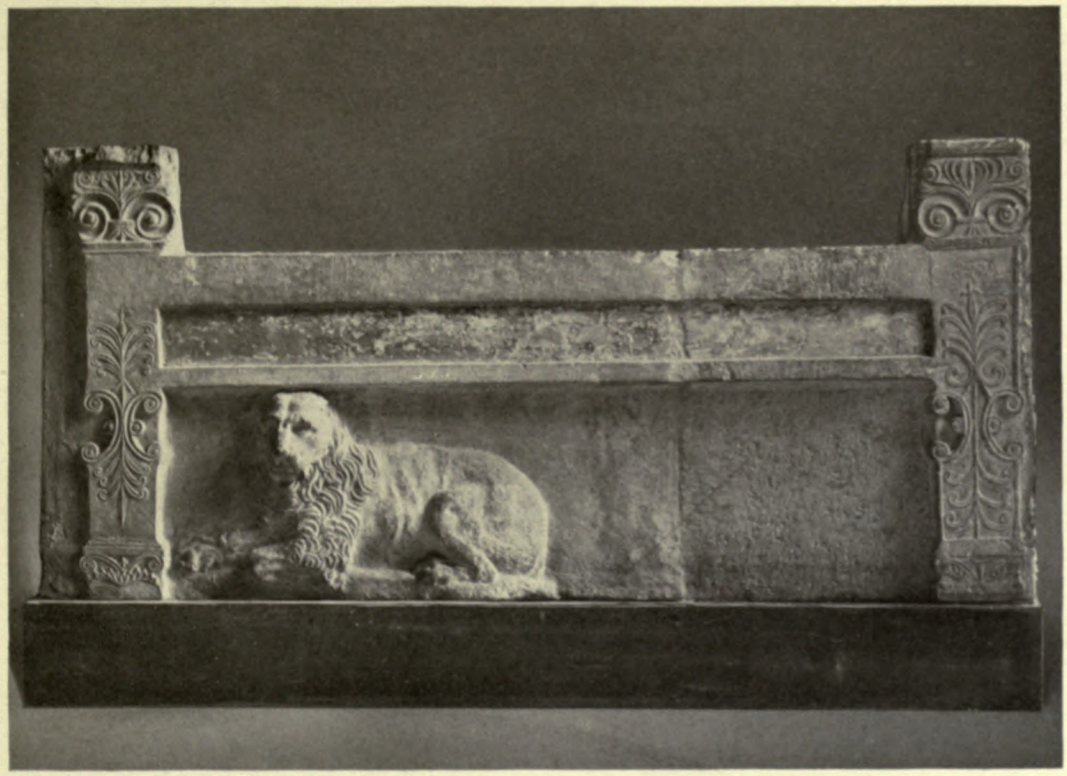


FIG. 12.—Marble funerary couch. Found in a tomb in Macedonia.—*Louvre.*

There are also some couches whose forms are not evident because of enveloping drapery (see Fig. 37).

Small terra-cottas, representing one or more persons seated or lying on a couch, furnish considerable evidence for the Hellenistic period. The Myrina groups all have turned legs of a pattern (Fig. 30) similar to that already noted on the Vathia couch; instead of claws there are sphinxes introduced between the turned members and often foliage forms as well. These couches have sometimes one and sometimes two curved rests. *Hellenistic* Asia Minor

Another style of turned leg is shown on terra-cottas of Italian origin in the form of couches having a single reclining figure (Plate VII*b*). In these the legs Italy

are heavy and monotonous, consisting of numerous exactly similar, cushion-like
Egypt members. Fig. 13 shows another turned pattern on a bit of Egyptian faïence,[1] dating probably from this period. Some Etruscan terra-cotta cinerary urns of small size are partially in the form of couches, the legs being in relief on the front
Etruria of the urns, and the mattress and recumbent figures forming the cover. These have no rests, the rail is strikingly slender, and the legs are turned, being varied more than those mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph, but bearing no resemblance to the Myrina type.[2]

Fig. 13.—Fragment of Egyptian Faïence.—*Berlin.*

Italy Other late cinerary urns very closely resemble the Myrina couches; the sphinxes are higher up on the legs in the specimens shown in Figs. 14 and 50,[3] and toward the bottom is one member consisting of foliage, instead of two as in Fig. 30. Fig. 14 shows a feature common in couches and chairs from this time on; *i. e.*, the rails *rest upon* the supports instead of extending between them.[4]

Southern Russia An actual couch from southern Russia, the earliest specimen (with the exception of the unique early bronze couch of the Vatican, see p. 20) which is at all completely preserved, probably dates from the middle of the third century.[5] It has a curved head-rest, but no foot-rest; perhaps the latter has been lost. The turned legs are only in part preserved, but are nevertheless clearly of slender proportions and of a pattern wholly unlike that of the
Asia Minor Myrina couches. Closely similar in the pattern of the legs is another slightly later extant couch, the one from Priene in the Berlin museum,[6] a couch that certainly dates from the second century B. C. As restored it has a curved rest only at the head and braces in both directions between the supports. That turned legs of slender proportions and comparatively few members existed simultaneously with

[1] This is to be published elsewhere in colors, together with another fragment from the same vase. See p. 97, n. 2.

[2] There are a large number of these in the Archæological Museum in Florence which, so far as I know, are not published.

[3] Published: Amelung, *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 271, Fig. 1.

[4] *Cf. Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 133.

[5] Dr. Amelung, *loc. cit.*, p. 274, speaks of this couch as from a south-Russian grave of the *fourth century*. It was found, however, not *in* the grave but in the earth piled up over it, and the date given by Stephani for the contents of the grave (*Compte-rendu*, 1880, pp. 25, 26), not earlier than 284 B. C., is substantiated by a coin found in it of the king Pærisades II., who ascended the throne in 284 B. C. Now, the couch, if not contemporary with the grave, is more likely to be later than earlier.

[6] *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 134, Fig. 11.

such heavier, more complicated designs as those of the Myrina terra-cottas is shown in the so-called Icarius reliefs where both styles appear.[1]

The combination of the curved rests with rectangular legs, which has been noted on vases, apparently did not survive into the Hellenistic period. The Tele-

FIG. 14.—Terra-cotta cinerary urn.—*Museo Kircheriano, Rome.*

phus frieze from Pergamon shows both turned and incised bed-legs;[2] unfortunately there is only a fragment of each bed remaining. The turned leg seems to be of the pattern made familiar in the Myrina terra-cottas. The incised leg is the latest

[1] *Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, Plate 14.

[2] *Jahrb.*, Vol. XV (1900), Plate I, 21 and 51.

example known to me of its kind on a bed; it would seem as if beds with rectangular, incised legs went out of style during the Hellenistic age.[1]

Etruria

The degeneration (the beginnings of which we have already noted) of the incised pattern is very marked at this period. Even mongrel specimens appear, as on a second-century Etruscan urn (Martha, *L'art étrusque*, p. 353, Fig. 242). In this the legs show on the upper part features of the rectangular, incised pattern, and below a bell-like termination, which is evidently turned work. Further, curved rests, not volutes, crown the legs.

Asia Minor

Plates IV, V, and VI show two fragments of a marble couch from Pergamon of the early second century. The restoration is discussed on pp. 93 ff., and the view is advanced that, in the absence of corroborating representations, it cannot be assumed that supports in the form of a griffin instead of regular legs were ever features of real couches.

ROMAN

Early Period

Continuance of Greek Designs

The one style of elegant couch common in the early years of the Roman empire is that known to us first in the second half of the fifth century; this, undergoing some changes, apparently gained its fullest popularity in the early Roman age. I speak of the bed with turned legs and one or two curved rests, already so frequently referred to in this sketch. This is the period from which the greatest number of preserved parts of couches has come, and they are all of the type just mentioned. The Boscoreale bed in Berlin,[2] the three couches[3] from a Pompeian triclinium in the Naples museum, and the Ancona beds,[4] all are examples which have been set together as couches, in at least approximately correct form. The Orvieto (Plates XX–XXVI) and Norcia[5] beds are wrongly restored. There are very many so-called *bisellia* (Plates VIII and XVIII)[6] which are no doubt made up of parts of couches and would admit of correct restoration. In addition to these more or less complete fittings of individual beds, there exists a vast quantity of the curved rests (Plates XI, XII, and XVI), seldom with their full adornment; also of separate

[1] The incised leg appears later on chairs in Pompeian wall-paintings and in the sculptures of the Ara Pacis. But the instances in paintings are probably taken over with the designs as a whole from earlier originals. Professor Petersen has pointed out (*Ara Pacis Augustae*, p. 68) that the Temple of the Great Mother on the Ara Pacis must be a copy of the edifice erected 204–191 B. C. This takes the chair form in the pediment of this temple as represented on the Ara Pacis back to the time of the Telephus frieze.

[2] *Jahrb.*, Vol. XV (1900), *Anz.*, p. 178.

[3] One of these has been reproduced numerous times; for example, BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 329, and MAU-KELSEY, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*[2], p. 367, Fig. 188.

[4] BRIZIO, pp. 445 ff., Figs. 8–27.

[5] PASQUI, cols. 234 ff.

[6] Besides those published here, the "Capitoline Bisellium" (*Bullettino della commissione archeologica communale di Roma*, Vol. II, Plates II–IV, pp. 22–32=AMELUNG, *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. XVII [1902], p. 271, Fig. 1=HELBIG, *Führer*[2], Vol. I, p. 383, No. 569), one in the Louvre (Giraudon, photograph No. 188 of series of bronzes in the Louvre), and two in Naples (*Real museo borbonico*, Vol. II, Plate XXXI) may be cited.

pieces (Plates XIII, XIV, XV*a*, *b*, *d*, and XVII) belonging to such rests, and of parts of turned legs, although the latter when detached are less commonly thought worthy of exhibition. This type of bed has been the subject of considerable discussion. It seems generally conceded that couches not used for dining had at this period two rests; that, of the three in a triclinium, the upper couch had a head-rest, the lower a foot-rest, and the middle none at all.[1] The correct sloping position of these rests, extending in a graceful curve beyond the lines of the bed, has been made clear by Professor Pernice;[2] it was the form inherited from the Greek period. Dr. Amelung, in the *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. XVII (1902), pp. 271 ff., however, cites a few instances where the monuments show rests of quicker curve occupying a perpendicular position directly above the legs. These are probably early manifestations of the Roman tendency (very marked in forms of Roman development, as we shall see) to make the rests straighter as well as higher. One of the examples published by Dr. Amelung (*loc. cit.*, p. 273, Fig. 2) shows further the construction of the rests at the ends. In this case three rails curving slightly outward, with spaces between them and between the lowest rail and the frame of the couch at the seat-level, connect the curved ornamental pieces at the front and back of the couch. This is valuable evidence, as in restorations these front and back uprights have always been connected by a solid surface having the same curve as the uprights, which arrangement we now know was certainly not always, if ever, in vogue. A connecting-piece which is not solid has the support of analogies on earlier rests,[3] one of them of the same type (with curved uprights) as that under discussion. Also some early parallels to the outward curve may be cited.[4]

The Romans did not long continue to use the form of couch taken over from the Hellenistic world. Just when it went out of style is difficult to say; I believe about the close of the first century A. D.[5]

Later Period Characteristically Roman Designs

We must now turn to distinctly Roman beds, of which representations abound on late monuments. These all, with a few possible exceptions, have turned legs

[1] This statement is sometimes made to apply in general to the type with curved rests. It holds good, so far as I know, for the Roman period. But there exist earlier couches with only one rest which were not for banquets, as in certain terra-cottas of the Myrina type. The "Aldobrandini Wedding" is a case in point, for, though executed in the Augustan period, it is a copy of an earlier painting.

[2] *Jahrb.*, Vol. XV (1900), *Anz.*, pp. 178 ff.

[3] BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 792 = GIRARD, Fig. 4387, and BAUMEISTER, Fig. 328 = GIRARD, Fig. 4389.

[4] It looks as if the head-rest of the second bed referred to in the previous note might be an instance. A terra-cotta in the British Museum from Eretria, No. C 208, is curved out at the frame-level (*B. M. Terracottas*, Plate XXXIV, but not very clear in the side-view given). Analogous to this is the place for the head in the marble funerary couch given in the *Revue archéologique*, 1876, Plate XIII.

[5] It is not common even on early imperial monuments and never appears on distinctly late Roman reliefs. The style of the details on the preserved specimens seems to me for the most part to point to the first century A. D.

of ugly patterns (see Fig. 15) and are comparatively low, some extremely low; the legs never extend above the level of the frame. So far as the monuments give details, the frame when not plain shows one of the schemes of Fig. 16 (*cf.* Figs. 14, 31, Plates XXVIII, and Plate XXIX*a*) rather than rosettes, animals, or any of the motives common in the Greek period.

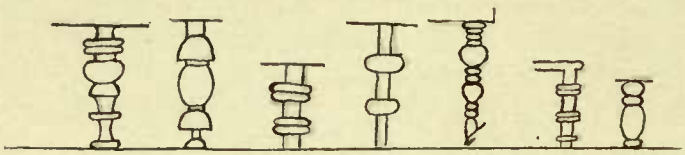


Fig. 15.—Specimens of turned legs from Roman couches.

There are couches without backs and with curved rests at the two extremities, very different, however, in appearance from the earlier Roman couches. The rests are of various designs, are higher and in an upright position in a line with the bed-legs, and the curve is slighter, sometimes amounting merely to an outward turning of the upper edge. A sarcophagus cover in couch form of the first half of the third century is shown in Fig. 17; the rests end above in horses' heads, below in lions' heads. A very favorite motive, one which permeates Roman decoration generally and occurs also on other late types of couches (see p. 36), is the dolphin.[1] This appears on couches with the dolphin head resting on the frame, and the body and tail swinging in lively curve aloft (Plate XXVIII).

Beds with headboards of a height equal to that of the legs, and very low foot-boards or none at all, seem also to have existed.[2]

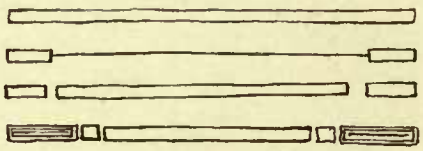


Fig. 16.—Patterns from the rails of Roman couches.

But the greatest innovation of the Romans was the introduction of a back; it would be interesting to know just how early it came in. The word *pluteus*, perhaps "back," is used of couches, so far as I know, first in Propertius (see p. 111, n. 17). Plate XXIX*b* shows what is probably one of the earliest examples of a back in couch representations. The structure is unusual in the following particulars: the back is open rather than solid and has a middle rail, a bracing-bar appears above the

[1] See Baumeister, Vol. III, Fig. 1610=Combe, *Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*, Vol. V, Plate IX, 3; Graeven, Phot. 1. Very common, according to Graeven, p. 1, n. 1, on early Christian ivories. Another late example, reproduced by Girard, Fig. 4396, is from the Vatican manuscript of Virgil. There are numerous extant dolphins of metal in the British Museum, the Cabinet des Médailles, and elsewhere. Some of these have been thought to be parts of articles of furniture. The "Campana relief" in the British Museum, No. D 603 (Mansell, photograph No. 1400; Combe, *Ancient Terracottas in the British Museum*, Plate 10 and *B. M. Terracottas*, Plate XLIII) shows two dolphins diagonally placed between the seat and round of Athena's stool, and one of the extant metal dolphins in the same museum has a slant suitable to such a position. Others of the extant pieces are intended to occupy an upright position, and may perhaps come from couches.

[2] Graeven, Phot. 1; Baumeister, Vol. I, Fig. 5; relief in the Lateran Museum, Room XIII, No. 849.

floor-level between the legs, and the arms are lower than the back. In fact, it seems better adapted for use as a settee than as a couch for reclining, and it agrees in most particulars with the piece of furniture on which the emperor Augustus and the goddess Roma are seated, as depicted on a famous cameo in Vienna.[1] None of the representations of couches with solid backs of the common forms now to be enumerated, with which I am familiar, would antedate the latter half of the first century A. D.

FIG. 17.—Cover in couch form of a Roman sarcophagus.—*Museo Torlonia, Rome.*

One of the stock subjects on Roman gravestones, whether found in England, along the Rhine, on the Greek islands, or in some other part of the old Roman dominions, was an adaptation of the time-honored "funerary banquet" motive. The study of a large number of these reliefs and their accompanying inscriptions would no doubt yield information as to the chronology of beds with backs, as well as matter of much greater interest. Figs. 40 and 18 give two couches from gravestones of this class, found on the island of Paros. Fig. 40 shows the more usual form with curved end-pieces, but of extra large size. It will be seen that the upper part of the couches is very prominent. The legs look weak and insignificant, and their height does not equal that of the supported portion. Three sides are inclosed; the back and end-pieces are of the same height and apparently solid; the back often

[1] FURTWÄNGLER, *Die antiken Gemmen*, Plate LVI. The terra-cotta, of course, necessarily shows the spaces between the rails solid, but unless we are to suppose these spaces in the structure reproduced to have been paneled up at the back, the form must have been that suggested above. The analogy of the Vienna cameo, which is not ambiguous on this point, strengthens the view which I have taken. *Cf.*, however, *B. M. Terracottas*, p. 365, No. D 359.

has the same profile with the sides, as sarcophagi in couch form show.[1] Such sarcophagi or the representations of these couches on sarcophagi are less rude, as a rule, than the gravestones. No doubt the models, too, were often better couches. In Fig. 31, reproducing the front of a sarcophagus from Syria, the pattern of the turned legs and of the crossboard and the conventionalized dolphin form of the front extremities of the rests are all evident.

FIG. 18.—Relief on a Roman gravestone.—*Island of Paros.*

A certain number of Roman beds have the headboards, footboards, and back (usually present) all consisting of two members, the upper one, either curved or straight, issuing from the lower member, which is always curved[2] (Plate XXVIII and Figs. 19 and 20).

It is a question whether any of these late couches ever had anything in the nature of upholstery. In Plate XXIX*a* is reproduced a small terra-cotta found in Egypt. It will be seen that there is a pattern of concentric squares twice on the back and also once on the end of the pillow. The same design appears on the end-pieces both on the inner and outer faces, and also on the outer surface of the back. It does not seem probable that on such a realistic piece of work as this very modern-looking couch, with the dogs curled up upon it, the ornaments could have been a mere fanciful addition of the coroplast. It looks as if the frame of the couch were covered with a heavy patterned material which was padded. Otherwise the ornamental squares must be supposed to be carved or in some way executed in a hard material composing the couch; and this has the objection that such ornament usually adorns and emphasizes the constructional parts of couches, the legs, rails, and uprights of the headboards and footboards, but is not ordinarily dropped promiscuously all over the structure as here. Attention is called in the *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. VII (1892), p. 45, to a number of couch representations (see Figs. 20 and 21) with lines upon them which look as if they represented masonry. These are

FIG. 19

[1] I have photographs, kindly given me by Dr. Vassits, of Belgrade, of a specimen found at Viminacium, Mœsia Superior; and now in the *gymnasium* at Pojarevatz in Servia.

[2] In the Archæological Museum in Florence, part of a marble couch, AMELUNG, *Führer*, p. 192, No. 215 = *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. I (1886), pp. 161 ff., Plate VIII, and *ibid.*, Vol. VII (1892), p. 45, above, Fig. 19; also *ibid.*, p. 45, Fig. VIII, 2 and 6. Also an unpublished (?) sarcophagus standing in the south corridor of the Museo delle Terme, Rome.

explained as reproductions of marble beds, built up of blocks, and are supposed to have been used by the living in summer, or perhaps to have been placed in tombs. This theory is not very satisfying,[1] whereas the reliefs become perfectly intelligible if we may assume that a padded back is represented fastened down along the vertical and horizontal lines. If an *a priori* argument is worth anything, it seems not unlikely that the practical Romans, having once developed such high supports on their couches, would have given them the added comfort of a permanent padding of some sort, as distinguished from pillows and other removable furnishings.

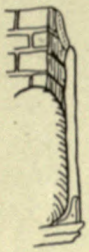


FIG. 20.

One other question may be touched upon in closing this chronological survey of forms. It must have been evident to the reader before this that Greek, Etruscan, and Roman couches, as represented, are in many instances very short—too short to permit their occupants to stretch out at full length. Were the paintings, reliefs, and terra-cottas faithful in this particular to facts, or have we to do here with an artistic convention? Couches long enough for the extended human body are shown in prothesis scenes (Figs. 4 and 29) and a few cinerary urns (Plate I); in fact, whenever a recumbent person is represented his couch is of suitable length. The normal lengths given to extant couches in the process of restoration are vouched for, in a few cases, by traces observed on the floor at the time of finding,[2] even though their wooden rails have invariably perished. Evidence is not lacking, then, for couches of comfortable length for lying flat upon.

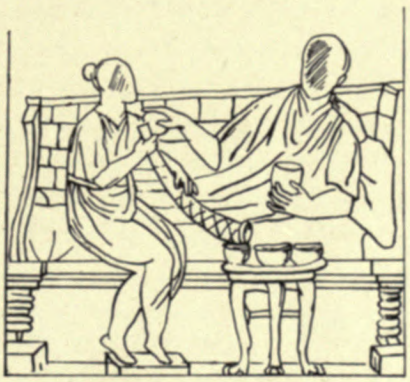


FIG. 21.—Relief on a Roman cippus.

Greek art never hesitated to take liberties with the relative sizes of people, animals, and inanimate objects when the general decorative filling of spaces could be better attained thereby. Hence it should not surprise us in vase-paintings and relief sculptures—and the statement holds good for the Roman period also—to find a person too large for the bed he is resting on. I believe, therefore, that the shortness of many beds seen

[1] In the first place, it does not seem to me probable that the Romans would have built such couches of masonry; they would rather have carved them out of whole blocks of marble, as they did sarcophagi. But even if couches of masonry existed, they were then in design only copies or modifications of usual household couches, and would not have been reproduced upon marble reliefs, but *their* models rather would have served as the models also for relief sculpture.

[2] See PERNICE, *Jahrb.*, Vol. XV (1900), *Anz.*, p. 178.

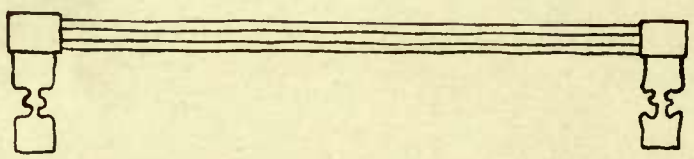
on Greek vases is due to arbitrary variation from facts.[1] The question becomes more difficult in the case of couch reproductions in the round such as those in Fig. 14 and Plate XXIX*b*. Did the artist depart from literal truth in order to avoid an unoccupied stretch of bed beyond the feet of the half-reclining person, and thus to gain compactness of design? I am inclined to think not. The production of short couches is better vouched for in terra-cottas such as the one reproduced in Plate XXIX*a*. Here there are no occupants that affect the general lines of the composition, and one cannot see why the terra-cotta couch should be so short unless its proportions had a real existence in structures familiar to the designer of the terra-cotta.

Finally, in endeavoring to make vivid to ourselves these ancient couches, a comparison with modern styles may be useful. There is no one of all the forms we have been reviewing which bears any resemblance to modern single bedsteads[2] with their high footboards and still higher headboards; much less are there any double beds recognizable on the classic monuments. Some of the draped Greek couches, with their numerous pillows, look not very unlike the modern college divan; the earlier ones are higher, to be sure, than is thought desirable now, but some of those represented on late red-figured ware are as low as modern couches, and probably would not look out of place in a present-day room. But it is among Roman couches that we find the greatest number of recent-looking structures. There are the short couches referred to in the preceding paragraph, which find numerous parallels in modern furniture. The form shown in Fig. 18 is very like a high-backed settle, and others in their main lines are not dissimilar to some large davenports of the present day. The dolphins occasionally seen on the arms of modern couches[3] are surely a revival of the Roman motive.

[1] This seems to me far more probable than that Greek banquet couches were commonly short. This view is strengthened by a parallel case; a design on a bronze mirror (GERHARD, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Vol. II, Plate CXXV = *Cat. des bronzes ant. de la Bibl. nat.*, p. 499, Fig. 1284) represents Alcmene and the newly born Heracles in bed propped up among the pillows; the bed would not be long enough for Alcmene, were she to lie outstretched upon it. We are not prepared to accept this evidence literally as denoting the existence of short beds. Since the explanation as an artistic convention seems almost inevitable here, the same may be the more readily accepted for dining-couches which appear short.

[2] *Cf.*, however, the toy bedstead of palm sticks found in the Faioum, and now in the collection of Professor W. Flinders Petrie, at University College, London (PETRIE, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 12 and Plate XIX, 5). This is said to date from the latter half of the third century A. D.

[3] For instance, see the Empire sofa owned by Mrs. William Young of Baltimore, Md., which is pictured in SINGLETON, *The Furniture of Our Forefathers*, p. 573, and is thus described in the text: "a fine example of the period with the *metal dolphins gracefully curved along the scroll ends*."



CHAPTER II

MATERIALS, TECHNIC, AND CENTERS OF MANUFACTURE

PREHISTORIC

The one detailed description in Homer of a bed is of that of Odysseus.[1] It was of olive wood, carefully and accurately cut with the help of a plumb-line, and polished; gold, silver, and ivory contributed to its adornment. The statement is explicit as to the materials employed, but not as to the method of putting them together. The adjective δινωτός, applied in one instance to a bed,[2] in another to a chair,[3] in all probability refers to legs of turned work. There is no passage that suggests the use of metal otherwise than for adornment.

HELLENIC PERIOD

General Statement in Regard to Material and Technic

The principal material used in the construction of Greek couches of historical times was wood. Common beds were no doubt made entirely of it. Better couches in the early period had their constructional parts of wood and their ornament of richer materials. In the Hellenistic period couches made largely of metal were frequent, but even in these wood was retained for some of the constructional parts. How extensively and by what technical processes metal was employed in making couches before the Hellenistic period cannot with certainty be determined.

Evidence for Wood

Besides the obvious fact that wood must have been cheaper and more easily worked than metal, there are positive indications of the large use made of it in the construction of Greek beds. The forms of beds as we know them on Greek monuments look as if made of wood, especially in the patterns of the legs and the frequent representations of tenons in mortises which served to unite the head-rails and the foot-rails with the legs. An instance of the reproduction of the grain of wood on a vase-painting is given in Fig. 22. Added to the evidence of the monuments is that of literature. In an account of property left by Demosthenes's father,[4] which included a plant for making knives and another for the manufacture of beds, timbers for beds are mentioned. In Munich there is a fourth-century inscription[5] giving part of a temple inventory, which enumerates under objects of wood κλίνη σμικρὰ I. Theophrastus refers to various kinds[6] of wood as used for making couches, and Theocritus mentions a couch of cedar (XXIV, 43).

[1] καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἀπέκοψα κόμην τανυφύλλου ἐλαίης,
κορμὸν δ' ἐκ βίζης προταμὼν ἀμφέξεσα χαλκῷ
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, καὶ ἐπὶ στάθμην ἴθυνα,
ἑρμῖν' ἀσκήσας, τέτρηνα δὲ πάντα τερέτρῳ.
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρχόμενος λέχος ἔξεον, ὄφρα τέλεσσα,
δαιδάλλων χρυσῷτε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἠδ' ἐλέφαντι·
ἐν δ' ἐτάνυσσ' ἱμάντα σοὸς φοίνικι φαεινόν.
— *Od.*, XXIII, 195–201.

[2] *Il.*, III, 391.

[3] *Od.*, XIX, 56.

[4] *Dem.*, XXVII, 10 ff.

[5] *I. G.*, IV, 39 = FURTWÄNGLER, *Beschr. der Glypt.*, p. 152, No. 196.

[6] These are: beech, two kinds of maple, ash, persea, and a reddish-tinged variety of turpentine or terebinth wood. See BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, II, pp. 327 and 246 ff.

Other Materials Applied to Wood

Some wooden couches were enriched with other materials. Chief among these was ivory. Ivory was used in the construction of beds in one of the workshops belonging to Demosthenes's father (see preceding paragraph).[1] An inventory, dating from the last half of the fourth century, of the Heræum on the island of Samos records that a κλιντηρίσκος ἐλέφαντι [π]ο[ι]κίλος had been among the temple treasures.[2] The presence of other furniture—three θρόνοι μεγάλοι οὐχ ὑ[γιεῖς], ἀνακλίσεις ἔχοντες ἠλεφαντωμένας, and a τράπεζα ἠλεφαντωμένη—in the Parthenon is significant.[3] Many black-figured vases show designs in white on beds with rectangular legs and incisions, and one is tempted to think that the color represents ivory.[4] The fact that ivory was much used in ancient times for various purposes, comparatively more than today,[5] increases the likelihood that it would have been employed extensively in decorating beds. Tortoise shell, gold, silver,[6] and also bronze,[7] may have been among the accessory materials sometimes used on beds of wood.

Fig. 22.—Detail from a banquet-scene on a red-figured vase.—*British Museum.*

[1] *Dem.*, XXVII, 31. See also two important passages quoted and briefly discussed under "technic," p. 53. In one the reference is to Sicilian beds; in the other there is nothing to indicate whether Greek or foreign beds are intended.

[2] Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, No. 832, l. 49.

[3] *I. G.*, II, 2, p. 33, No. 676, ll. 14–16; p. 61, No. 701, col. II (III), ll. 43, 44; p. 70, No. 713 and I, pp. 73–76, item No. 31, and II, 2, p. 33, No. 676, l. 29=Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 298, XIII, 36, and p. 296, I ff.

[4] White seems to be used on black-figured vases with some degree of appropriateness, as for the hair of old people, for the flesh of women, and for garments which may be supposed to be white.

[5] See Blümner, *Technologie*, II, p. 363. *Cf.* the mention of ivory beds, thrones, and palaces in Amos 3:15; 6:4; Ps. 45:8; 1 Kings 10:18, 22; Ezek. 27:6. *Cf.* finally the extant ivory carvings from a wooden sarcophagus, referred to p. 46, close of n. 3.

[6] It seems on the face of it probable that gold and silver, which were applied to wooden furniture in Egypt (*e. g.*, the so-called chair of Hatshepsut in the British Museum) and in Greece in the Homeric period (see p. 39, n. 1), should have had occasional use in Greece in historical times on especially fine pieces. Pollux in Book X, 35, says, σὺ δὲ κἂν ἐλεφαντίνην εἴποις, καὶ χελώνης; but since he is not expressly quoting a Greek writer, there is no assurance that he is referring to Greek couches. Tortoise shell, if not used in the Greek period in sufficient quantity to warrant a couch being described as χελώνης, may yet have been employed for inlays. This is one of the numerous things which the lack of evidence makes it impossible either to affirm or to deny.

[7] The probabilities as to metal appliqués are discussed on p. 44, n. 5.

Wooden couches were probably sometimes beautified by veneers of finer woods, such as box.[1] Veneers of Wood

At least as early as the fifth century, there were couches in the construction of which metal was extensively used. The most satisfactory evidence for this, especially since it is of contemporary date, is in Thucydides.[2] We are told that after the siege of Platæa (427 B. C.) beds were made of bronze and iron[3] and dedicated to Hera. Thirteen κλινῶν πόδες ἐπάργυροι are cited, for the first time in the year 434–33 B. C.,[4] in the lists of the treasures kept in the Parthenon. The earliest Greek bed made principally out of metal, parts of which have come down to us, is the one found in the Crimea,[5] dating from about the middle of the third century B. C. Very important constructional parts of this, viz., the legs and the curved uprights of the head-rest, are of bronze.[6] The original horizontal frame and the portion of the head-rest between the uprights which have perished were of wood. Of the same general type is the bronze bed from Priene.[7] A youth of the town of Paphus is described by Clearchus of Soli[8] (time of Alexander) as reclining in excessive luxury upon a couch with silver legs. At one of the accession festivities of Ptolemy Philadelphus one hundred "golden couches" were in use.[9] The two passages last referred to, the existence of two specimens made largely of Metal as the More Important Material

[1] The evidence in regard to veneers is given in Blümner, *Technologie*, II, p. 328. *Cf.*, however, Svoronos-Barth, *Das Athener National Museum*, Part II, p. 52, where ἀμφίκολλοι παραπύξινοι [Παράπυξοι? But the two words do not form a single expression in ancient writers.] is associated with a metal clothing of wooden furniture.

[2] III, 68, 3. Pliny (*N. H.*, XXXIV, 2, 9) makes a statement which would be very important if we knew that he had based it on good authority, but unfortunately we do not know that. He says that the bronze of Delos became famous very early, and that it was first used for the legs and rests of couches before figures of gods, men, and animals were ever made of it. The interest of Pliny's information is that it implies a continuous and considerable output of bronze parts of couches beginning at a much earlier date than that of the isolated instance of couch-making out of metal reported by Thucydides. In the account of the property left by Demosthenes's father, it is not clear whether the bronze and iron enumerated were for exclusive use in the knife factory, or whether some of it was employed in the production of beds.

[3] Silence in regard to wood in this passage cannot be taken as implying its entire absence. Nothing analogous to the modern metal bedstead, having its component parts entirely of metal and, in consequence, of slighter proportions and of distinctly metallic patterns, existed in antiquity. Some pieces of Assyrian furniture, in part preserved and now in the British Museum (*e. g.*, Fig. 39), presented a surface of metal, but their strength was chiefly in the wood beneath. In the extant specimens of Greek and Roman date metal is used for some of the constructional parts as well as for all the ornament, but it was found convenient to retain a certain amount of wood, in particular the timbers forming the rails.

[4] *I. G.*, I, p. 73, a), 13. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 296, I, *hh*, gives the number incorrectly as twelve.

[5] See p. 30.

[6] One upright and parts of all four of the legs have been preserved.

[7] See p. 30.

[8] Quoted in *Athen.*, VI, 255*e*.

[9] *Athen.*, V, 197*a*, *b*. In view of this passage, it is not improbable that Bion's fancy in describing the couch of Adonis as "all of gold" (I, 67) was influenced by something he had seen.

metal, and especially the well-known general increase of luxury in Hellenistic times, all are favorable to the view that metal was used much more lavishly on couches after than before the time of Alexander.

Technic

The technic, more than any other division of this investigation, is beset with difficulties. It is particularly with reference to construction that the representations of couches on the monuments are more or less ambiguous, incomplete, and in some details inaccurate. It has been pointed out that the stock of extant Greek specimens is confined to two couches of late date. The passages referred to in the preceding paragraphs and others, as many as are known to me, in which beds are mentioned, do not yield anything decisive about technic. Perhaps the problems may be best approached by considering the representations of a few beds which seem to be typical of various grades of work.[1]

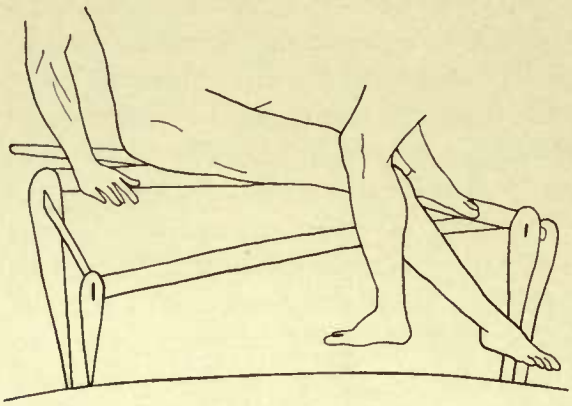


FIG. 23.—Detail from the scene "Theseus Slaying Procrustes." Red-figured vase.

Rough Constructions

Beds entirely of wood and of the rudest workmanship are illustrated in Figs. 23 and 24. In Fig. 23 each leg is of one block of wood (possibly from a tree branch already of approximately the right size and requiring only a little shaping with ax and knife), and is oval or round in horizontal section. The rails are single boards held in place by tenons of rectangular shape; these tenons pass entirely through the legs and lie in a perpendicular direction in accordance with the position of the rails, which have their greatest thickness up and down. In Fig. 24 the legs are again roughly hewn out, but are probably four-sided. The tenons are round. The uprights of the headboard are in one piece with the legs, as modern chair backs and legs are usually made; only here it seems probable, to judge by the generally rude appearance of the bed, that the natural bend of a branch has been utilized rather than

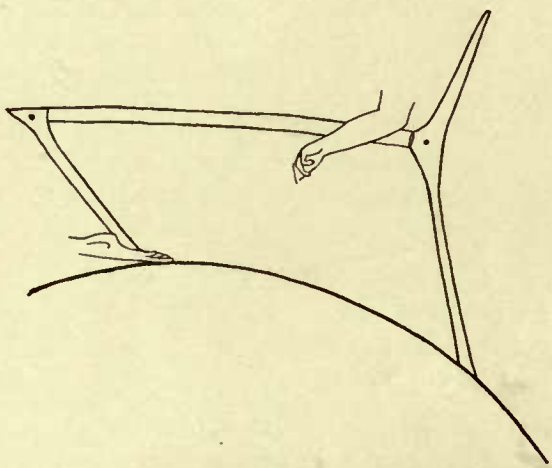


FIG. 24.—Detail from a red-figured vase-painting.—*Archæological Museum, Florence.*

[1] The illustrations are taken, unless otherwise implied, from the sixth and fifth centuries, for which the evidence is most complete.

that the curve was bent or tooled out of a straight piece of wood. One or two rails probably connect the uprights above the seat-level. There is nothing to indicate whether the side-rails and end-rails are cylindrical or rectangular. The legs of these and of some other Greek couches are more than ordinarily thick at the top as contrasted with the bottom—a feature which exists probably to give sufficient strength just at the part which must be twice cut through to accommodate the tenons of the side-rails and end-rails. These tenons must, of course, lie at different levels, and this is often evident on the monuments (*cf.* Fig. 8 and Plate I); careless drawing must be held accountable for instances in vase-paintings where this does not seem to be possible.

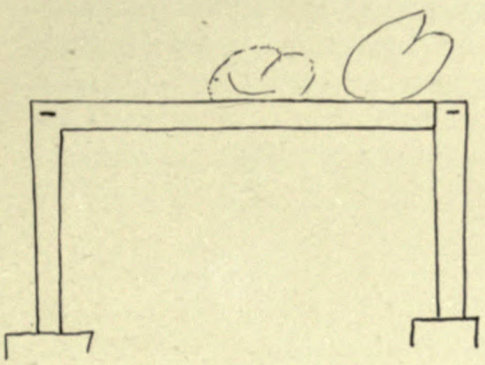


FIG. 25.—Couch from a red-figured vase.—*British Museum.*

The bed in Fig. 25 appears to be built up of eight planks, four for the supports and as many for the rails. It gives the impression of a rough structure; however, if made of good material, a considerable amount of technical skill in the way of accurate cutting and fine finish might be expended even on such a plain bed. It presents a constructional puzzle very frequent in the representations of Greek couches; that is, there is no apparent provision for holding the piece of furniture steady; the height is great, the rails are not very wide, and there are no braces extending from head to foot above the floor. In this instance, as often, the legs are let or mortised into blocks at the ground level. If these blocks represent the ends of timbers between the legs at the short sides of the bed, the latter is, indeed, strengthened in the crosswise direction, but not in its length. Possibly, therefore, the blocks or braces in question are to be thought of as fastened, either permanently or in some removable way, to the floor. The couches would then be braced in all directions and have a firmer stand.

Plank Constructions

FIG. 26.—The slaying, upon the return of Odysseus, of the suitors of Penelope. Detail from a vase-painting.—*Berlin.*

Fig. 26 is illustrative of a much better wooden construction. The legs are

rectangular in plan, or possibly have the corners rounded off, and taper with a slightly concave profile downward. Those at the foot are in one piece. The legs at the head give the effect of one member, but in the process of making probably the ornamented top has been mortised down upon the legs proper, which below this point are just like those at the foot. The couch is well designed for strength; it is not too high, and the rails are wide enough to give a firm hold at the line of juncture with the legs. A second end-rail higher up between the capitals probably forms the support of mattress and pillow.[1] The parts of the couch are put together by invisible mortises and tenons. The wood we may suppose to be one of the better varieties, thoroughly rubbed with shark skin[2] to produce a smooth surface, and perhaps stained.[3] The ornament may be carved as in Fig. 43, inlaid or applied in ivory,[4] or executed in bronze repoussé.[5]

Among the most elaborate wooden couches is the style shown in Fig. 27. It has the same constructional weakness remarked in the bed of Fig. 25; viz., the absence of braces in the long direction, despite the great height and the narrowness of the side-rail. Further the deep incisions into the legs reduce their strength.[6] The first weakness makes the last more dangerous, for the narrow part of the legs could sustain a large amount of dead weight when they would break under cross strains such as unsteadiness in the couch would produce. The similar couch

[1] No end-view of a bed of this precise design exists, but *cf.* Fig. 9.

[2] Used by the Greeks and Romans for the purposes now served by sandpaper and pumice stone.—BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, II, p. 330.

[3] There is little known as to Greek methods of finishing woodwork. Professor Blümner states that there is no evidence for the polishing of woods with a regular varnish, although it would seem that something of the kind must have been done; oil and wax were used to some extent on small objects. See *Technologie*, II, p. 330. Stains were sometimes employed, for in the passage from Demosthenes, already twice referred to, there is mention of κηκίς. Since the word occurs in the singular, it probably denotes a prepared stain, rather than the raw material, nut-galls. It no doubt produced a black color, as in the case of stains used in modern cabinet-work which have nut-galls among their ingredients.

[4] See p. 46, n. 3.

[5] Appliqués of strips or surfaces of bronze from chests, chariots, small caskets, and various other objects have been preserved. It seems therefore possible that wooden beds were also sometimes ornamented in this way. Yet no pieces from beds have been recognized among extant bronzes. In SCHUMACHER, p. 48, No. 270, and Plate VI, 3, are bits of repoussé which show designs akin to these capitals, although too small to have been used on beds. It is perhaps questionable whether only such a part of a structure as these capitals would have been covered with metal. Chests, etc., were apparently covered over in their entirety to give the effect of a metal object. *Cf.* what is said on p. 51 of the possible existence of beds entirely encased in metal. One other possibility may be mentioned in this connection, *i. e.*, that wooden couches may sometimes have been ornamented with metal appliqués in which the design was cut out, leaving open spaces instead of being impressed in a solid sheet. Such extant bronze appliqués *à jour* are comparatively rare, but see early examples in *Olympia*, Vol. IV, FURTWÄNGLER, *Die Bronzen*, Plate XL and p. 108 under No. 733, and a fifth-century piece given in the tailpiece of chap. 2.

[6] Professor Blümner's view that the enlargements in the middle strengthen this narrow connecting-piece is incomprehensible (see p. 73, n. 1). The legs are no stronger than their weakest point.

shown in Plate I is therefore not only less likely, in consequence of its wide rails, to pull apart, but is less liable to break at the narrow parts of the legs, because the latter have mainly downward pressures to endure. In Fig. 43 also the same type of bed is represented. Here the bed is lower and the side-rail wider, so that the one serious weakness, the cutting out of the legs, does not seem to make it a dangerous construction. The terra-cottas showing this feature in the round are valuable proof that the vase-paintings on which these beds occur so frequently are to be trusted in this particular, and that the legs when so represented[1] are to be thought of

FIG. 27.—Heracles reclining upon a dining-couch, attended by Hermes, Athena, and a serving-lad. Vase-painting in the style of Andocides.—*Munich*.

as actually cut out. The Tobey Furniture Company of Chicago was so kind as to undertake at my request to test the constructional feasibility of these beds as pictured in the black-figured vase-paintings. Under the direction of the head of their Decorating Department, the late Mr. Twyman, a large working drawing, such as would be sent to their factory for execution, was prepared from the vase-painting given in Fig. 27. This drawing is reproduced here in Plate II. The reader has

[1] Some vase-paintings, on the other hand, have the vertical lines of the legs unbroken (here headpiece of chap. I, GIRARD, Fig. 4388 = OVERBECK, *Atlas der Kunst-Mythologie*, Plate VI, 2 and 3; *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, 1889, Plate XI, 4 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. VI, Plate XIV), and the palmettes and curves more or less carelessly indicated on these rectangular legs. This may be a mere cursory rendering of the normal type, or there may also have been couches with legs on which the design had a surface indication without being actually carved out. Certainly this last was the case at an early and at a late period in the history of this type, for the early bed represented in Fig. 4 is far too carefully painted to be interpreted otherwise than literally, and such related late designs as the terra-cotta given in the frontispiece clearly do not have the straight downward lines of the legs interrupted.

thus the opportunity of seeing what the ancient picture suggested to a person technically trained with regard to the strains which wood will endure and all the details of modern furniture construction. Important features of the drawing, such as the depth of the side-rails and end-rails and the design of the legs, are guaranteed by the vase-painting. Others—the specifications for the interlacing and for the execution of the ornament in ivory, likewise the extension as braces of the blocks seen under the legs in the vase-painting, and the exact form of the rail serving as headboard—are not to be proved directly by the ancient picture of Fig. 27, but were supplied by Mr. Twyman with great discretion and a high degree of probability in accordance with what can be learned otherwise about Greek beds. The width of the narrow part of the legs was increased sufficiently in the working drawing to insure against breakage at that point. The design of Fig. 27 has thus been pronounced by a competent authority not a constructional impossibility, and the variance of the vase decorator from facts is therefore not necessarily great, consisting, it may be,[1] chiefly in an exaggeration of the narrowness of the legs at their weakest point. This is not to assert, however, that the bed is a strong and commendable construction. To attempt further to make this design vivid to us we may imagine it executed in one of the fine dark woods mentioned by Theophrastus, terebinth or persea,[2] and inlaid with ivory,[3] as is suggested in the working drawing. The two rich materials, one dark the other white, would produce a handsome and striking piece of furniture.

A later wooden construction is reproduced in the terra-cotta of the frontispiece.

[1] Mr. Twyman accepted the apparent shortness of the couch as depicted in the vase-painting. *Cf.* pp. 37, 38.

[2] See p. 39, n. 6.

[3] I prefer to think of the pattern in this case as inlaid rather than applied to the supports. Inlays are more durable, especially where designs are composed of so many small separate elements as these. Professor Blümner expresses the opinion (*Technologie*, II, p. 365) that the riveting of patterns cut out of ivory to a surface preceded the technic of inlaying; but the development of the art of inlaying must have followed in very early times. Inlaying wood with ivory was practiced in Egypt in the New Empire, as numerous extant specimens show, and metal was very skilfully inlaid in the Mycenæan period. It does not seem possible that the art of inlaying could have been so completely lost as to have been unfamiliar to the Greeks of the early sixth century. *A priori* one would suppose that inlaying, when once understood, would have supplanted the older method for such open designs as the palmettes and stars on furniture.

Certainly, however, applied ornament continued long in use in the kindred technic of wood. *Cf.* the doweling to a ground of low-relief carvings *à jour* of wood, illustrated in extant sarcophagi, dating as late as the fourth century B. C., which have been found in southern Russia. *Solid* carvings of wood of the same time and provenience are known, which also were applied to a ground. See p. 47, n. 1.

Probably the veneering of greater or lesser surfaces with ivory was always practiced. With the employment of glue for inlaying perhaps came in its use also for applied ornament. Ivory veneers consisting of thin bits which were fastened by glue to a wooden ground came to supplement, although not entirely to banish, the more primitive method of attaching heavier pieces by doweling. See in regard to couches almost completely veneered with ivory pp. 52 and 55.

I am able at the last to add a reference to extant

There are two rails the long way of the bed which are paneled up at the back. The tapestry represented as thrown over the couch and hanging down at the ends hides the construction there, and the back of the terra-cotta is not finished. The other long side of the couch, however, must be thought of as having rails corresponding to those of the front, although very likely not ornamented. The ends of the couch may be without braces. The decoration consists of three kinds of carving. The pillars have the pattern sunk into their surface, the ornament above the frame of the bed is in low relief, and the panel in the front rail has high-relief decoration, in which each figure is to be understood as carved out of a separate piece of wood and fastened with wooden dowels to the background. The couch is painted lavishly with red, blue, and white, and has some gilding.[1]

In the wooden constructions which have been thus far under consideration, with the exception of the first two rude beds, the material used for the legs is in the form of planks.[2] These then determine the character of the legs, which exhibit in all cases a rectangular form, wide and not very deep. They are varied, indeed, by incisions as in Fig. 27 and Plate I, surface carving as in the frontispiece, or a slight curving of their outlines as in Fig. 26; but are all nevertheless elaborations of an original plain structure of planks, as shown in Fig. 25.

stars of ivory from Gordion in Asia Minor, which are identical in form with those seen in ancient pictures of furniture. They were attached to a wooden sarcophagus of the *sixth* century—this the most flourishing period of the beds with incised legs on which such stars appear—and from the cut of the bits of ivory composing them are thought to have been inlaid rather than applied. See G. and A. Körte, *Gordion: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900* (*Jahrb., fünftes Ergänzungsheft*), pp. 114, 116, Figs. 93 and 94.

[1] Analogies to the technic of this couch may be found in extant woodwork from southern Russia, for example the painted and gilded sarcophagus with applied wood-carvings described and figured in the *Compte-rendu*, Text 1882, pp. XXIII–XXV, supplemental volume, 1882–88, pp. 48–75; volume of plates, 1882–83, Plates III; IV; V, 2, 4–9, 14–18. A great deal of light would be thrown on the subject of Greek cabinet-work of the fourth century and later, and incidentally therefore on the technic of Greek wooden couches, by a study of the various wooden sarcophagi from southern Russia and Egypt. Some idea of the technical processes represented in their ornament may be gained from my list of extant pieces in the *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), pp. 137 ff. The entire absence of any traces of metal appliqués is striking. Inlaying, wood-carving in low and in high relief, out of one piece of wood or of separate pieces attached to a ground, and finally painting and gilding, are represented. The publication, which is promised for the near future, of the sarcophagi found by the German *Orientgesellschaft* at Abusir, will no doubt be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Greek work in wood.

[2] If the reader has any doubts on this point, let him look further at very early and very late representations of incised legs and at other related late designs. The legs of the chair of one of the statues from Branchidæ in the British Museum, (A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 20, No. 13) show a depth of not more than half their width. In late red-figured vase-paintings (*cf.* here Fig. 52) and Pompeian wall-decorations (*Real museo borbonico*, Vol. V, Plate XVII, and Vol. XI, Plate XLVII) are seen chairs with the legs drawn at such an angle that their comparative thinness is evident. The same characteristic is made clear by many small bronzes (see tailpiece, chap. 4, and *Cat. des bronzes ant. de la Bibl. nat.*, p. 9, No. 17).

Turned Work

Other Greek couches, however, have legs made of blocks of wood rather than of planks; these are the turned forms. Side by side with plank constructions from the earliest period are beds which show the use of the lathe.

The design given in Fig. 28 is portrayed in vase-paintings, fortunately in both end- and side-views. The legs are turned each from a single piece of wood. The head-rest seems to be composed of the following parts: (1) turned posts which are mortised down upon the legs; (2) three framing pieces, a cross-rail which surmounts

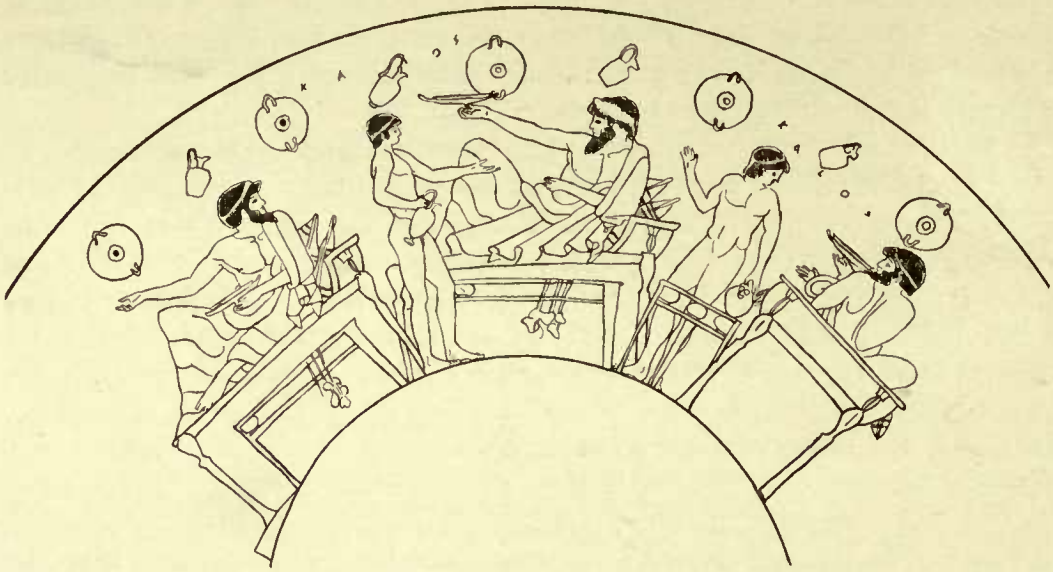


Fig. 28.—Banquet-scene. On a vase signed by Duris.—*British Museum.*

the posts, and two side-pieces of concave curve which are mortised above into the cross-rail of the head-rest and below into the side-rails of the bed; (3) within this frame a curved filling which consists perhaps of a number of slats of wood close together, mortised into the uprights at each side, for so large a curved surface, if carved out of one block, would be heavier than the appearance of the couch otherwise warrants us to assume.[1] The entire structure gives the impression of being very light and portable, and, as a matter of fact, in one vase-painting a man is represented carrying on his back[2] such a bed and also a table.

[1] We have no reason to attribute to the Greeks acquaintance with the "gluing on" and bending processes by means of which such a curved rest would be produced today. There seems no room to doubt, on comparing the few other representations of couches of this style, that the head-rest is filled in solid, although couches of other types often have bars across leaving open spaces (see p. 33).

[2] P. Gardner, *Greek Vases in the Ashmolean Museum*, No. 282, Plate 10. This may indicate that in beds of the style in question the tenons are glued into the mortises and the beds are incapable of being taken apart. It would seem as if heavier beds must be constructed so as to come apart for moving, and, indeed, one interesting proof of this, on a red-figured hydria in the Boston Museum of

We may understand the heavier, more elaborate, turned patterns shown in Figs. 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8, either as made of one block of wood or, for economy in the use of wood, as of separately turned pieces mortised or doweled together. Fig. 8 shows a normal and practical turned design, running a little slender toward the bottom perhaps, but not impossibly weak. In Figs. 2 and 5, however, there is the same puzzling contrast of very thin and very thick parts which has been encountered in the incised, rectangular legs. Perhaps clumsy and inaccurate drawing on the part of the vase-painter is in some degree responsible for the apparent weakness of these constructions, or, in the case in Fig. 2, the lower heavy members may be separate pieces, into which the legs proper are let, as has been suggested for other couches (Figs. 25 and 27). So far as these vase-paintings are literal renderings of contemporary beds, that same feeling or artistic standard, whatever it may be, which leads to the cutting out of the rectangular legs, must be held accountable in the case of the turned legs, for their slenderness of form, giving them a weak appearance.

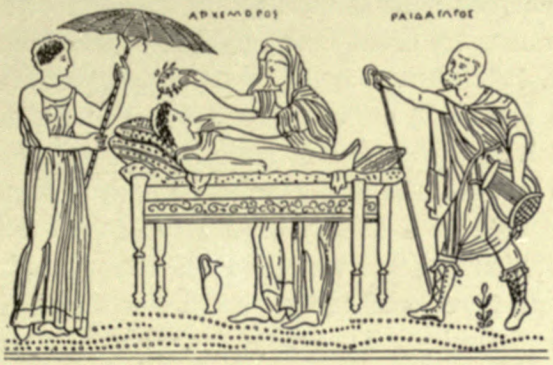


FIG. 29.—The body of Archemorus lying in state. Detail from a red-figured vase-painting.—*Naples.*

The later turned pattern which appears in Fig. 29 shows only slight variations of its horizontal dimensions, and is eminently practical. The couches with turned legs have occasional ornament, which may be thought of as inlaid, carved, or simply painted. In the earlier couches the ornament is very slight, being confined to the legs. With the coming in of wide side-rails it is increased. Such couches as the one in Fig. 29 have many analogies in chairs having wide rails.[1] I believe that these pictures commonly represent painted furniture. There are tendril designs, similar to that seen in Fig. 29 (unfortunately not very clear here) and elsewhere on furniture, on some of the extant wooden sarcophagi from Abusir;[2] these are merely painted, and because of its comparative cheapness the use of paint would probably be very common.

Fine Arts (*Twenty-Eighth Annual Report for the Year 1903*, p. 71, No. 57), may be mentioned. A scene from a satyric drama is pictured, and members of the chorus are seen bringing the legs and a part of the frame of a chair or couch which had rectangular, incised legs. I have not seen the vase and cannot attempt to say what the piece of furniture is, but if a chair rather than couch, it is no less probable that also couches of this style would be commonly taken down and set up at will. My attention was kindly called to this vase by Mr. B. H. Hill, assistant curator of the Classical Department of the Boston Museum.

[1] *Wien. Vorlegebl.*, Serie E, Plates IV, V, and VI, 2 and in other late red-figured vase-paintings.

[2] See p. 47, n. 1.

Metal Technic

See also p. 44, n. 5.

The starting-point for the consideration of metal technic must be the two extant beds. It has been stated above what parts have had to be supplied of wood and what are of metal (p. 41). The legs are made up of hollow castings, imitating turned work, which, at least in the case of the couch from Priene, have been retouched on the lathe. These were soldered into one another, and may have been further strengthened by invisible iron or wooden rods passing through the castings from the frame to the floor.[1] The wooden frames are ornamented and protected at the corners by casings of metal. In the St. Petersburg bed the metal uprights of the rests (except for the framing, which has been lost) are cast in one piece, in which respect they are unusual. In the bed from Priene, as in many later examples (*cf.* Plates IX, X, XIII, and XIV, and p. 100), the uprights consist each of four parts, cast separately; these are in this instance a horse's head which forms the upper termination of the upright, a medallion now lost which was the lower termination, a frame of moldings to which both were attached, and decoration now lost that filled in the frame between the two extremities. The restoration of the wooden part of the rests following the curve of the metal uprights seems the natural one, but, in view of the ancient testimony for open rails on couches of this type (see p. 33), may not be correct. There is no evidence known to me to justify the rails supplied between the legs of the couch from Priene at about half their height. The earliest of these extant couches, as has been said, dates from about the middle of the third century B. C. It seems impossible to know when beds of this sort were first made. The design is traceable on the monuments in occasional representations back into the fifth century, and other still earlier turned forms might conceivably have been executed in metal castings.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the examples of such strengthening rods from beds of bone found at Ancona (p. 55 and n. 9). Professor Pernice is of the opinion that legs made up of separate castings would perhaps be strong enough without a metal or wooden core (*Jahrb.*, Vol. XV [1900], *Anz.*, p. 179).

[2] The legs of the extant beds are translations of wooden forms into metal, yet show metallic influence in that the narrow parts are narrower and the spreading parts more spreading than would be natural in wood. If one attempts to apply this criterion to vase-paintings, one finds that the early representations of these couches are to all appearances those of wooden structures. In Fig. 44 it will be seen that there is less difference between the wider and the narrower parts than one would expect to see if the intention had been to represent a metal couch. On the other hand, the early turned work discussed in the previous paragraph suggests metal in the thinness of the legs at certain points. If the couches represented in Figs. 2 and 5 had been of metal rather than of wood, as has been assumed above, they would necessarily have been hollow-cast, for solid castings would have been too heavy and hammered work too weak. It is not perhaps impossible that the Greeks should have hollow-cast the legs of couches at the beginning of the sixth century. An Egyptian bronze statuette which is hollow-cast exists from the New Empire (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 461) and a few small parts from furniture, found at Nineveh are also cast hollow (Perrot and Chipiez, Vol. II, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, p. 726), and the passage in Pliny is in favor of the view (see p. 41, n. 2). On the other hand, the greater part of the Assyrian metal applied to furniture was hammered work, attached by rivets. It does not seem probable that hollow-casting was practiced in Greece so early. Among extant Greek bronzes of early date, repoussé work prevails, and the indications are that the hollow-casting of statues was only beginning to be practiced in the archaic period of Greek sculpture.

In the Hellenistic period, however, we are upon somewhat surer ground. It seems probable that the technic represented in the two preserved beds was the chief, perhaps the only, method of using metal extensively in making couches at this time. I base this statement mainly on the prevalence after the reign of Alexander of representations of beds having curved rests and supports made up largely or entirely of turned members. These far outnumber any other designs, and there are indications that they were very frequently made in large part of metal,[1] like the extant beds. There is nothing to show the structure of the couch with silver legs upon which the young man of Paphus reclined. But the one hundred "golden" couches of Ptolemy Philadelphus which are described as σφιγγόποδες probably were of the design shown in Fig. 30.[2] And if so, we may think of them perhaps as having legs made in small parts fitted into one another and of a baser metal gilded or plated with gold, unless it is possible that these parts consisted of gold only, sufficiently alloyed to be durable.

It cannot be proved whether or not the Greeks produced beds converted by applications to an appearance of metal, like the Assyrian furniture known to us through preserved specimens. If such work was done at all, since it is an older technic than casting, it would probably have been more frequent before than during the Hellenistic period. The metal might have been of fairly heavy plates hammered into shape (forge work), or of thinner sheets worked in a cold state with designs in repoussé. The Greeks may well have been familiar with such work on beds. It seems probable that the gold and silver couches of the Persian general Mardonius[3] and the thirteen κλινῶν πόδες ἐπάργυροι of the Parthenon treasure were of wood covered with plating of the precious metals. Whether the Platæan beds were of such work, or like the couches from southern Russia and Priene in their construction, is entirely beyond our ken. Besides the couches with curved rests, it would be idle to speculate as to what other designs, if any, were thus executed in large part of metal.

[1] A large class of these couches has crouching sphinxes and other non-turned members introduced into the design of the legs. Such couches (Fig. 30) do not look like purely wooden structures even in origin. It would be unnatural partly to carve and partly to turn one piece of wood, and, in cases where the representations are sufficiently good to permit any opinion on this point, the turned parts, too, seem to show metallic feeling. Therefore, I consider these designs eclectic creations, the separate elements of which go back to wooden technic, but the present combination of which was invented for work in metal. At least one example of Roman date exists of the design executed in bronze, *i. e.*, the "Capitoline Bisellium" (see p. 32, n. 6).

[2] *Cf.* p. 112, n. 27.

[3] HEROD., IX, 80–82. It seems safe to assume that when mention is made of a gold, silver, or ivory couch or part of a couch, the object really had the appearance of being of the material in question, and was not merely inlaid with it or adorned with scattered ornaments of it. Herodotus calls the same couches in one paragraph (82) χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας; in the other (80), ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, which last words are thought to refer to plating (BÖCKH, *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*[3], Vol. II, p. 148).

Technic of Ivory

It remains only to mention another method of producing the designs with curved rests and turned legs, which was probably practiced in the Hellenistic period, if not earlier. I refer to the almost complete veneering of a wooden frame

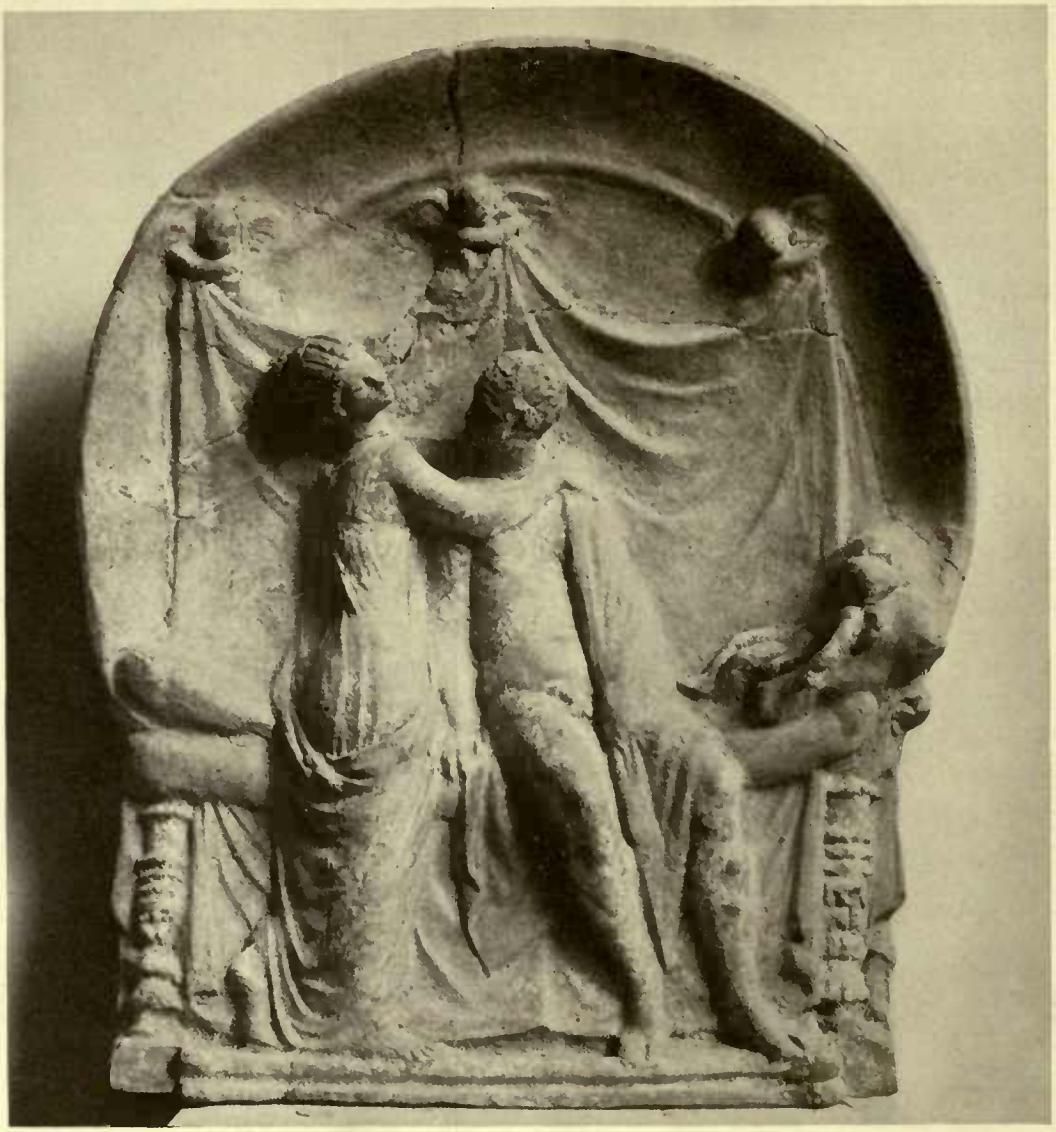


FIG. 30.—Small terra-cotta.—*National Museum, Athens.*

with thin bits of ivory, so that the result was a couch presenting a semblance of having at least many of its parts of solid ivory. This was certainly done later, as we shall see, and it would seem very probable that, like the metal technic exempli-

fied in the two Hellenistic couches, which was very popular in Roman times, it too had a non-Roman origin. It seems to me possible that the following lines by Plato, the comic poet (quoted Athen., II, 48*a*, *b*), refer to couches of this sort:

κἆτ' ἐν κλίναις ἐλεφαντόποσιν[1] καὶ στρώμασι πορφυροβάπτοις
κἀν φοινικίσι Σαρδιακαῖσιν κοσμησάμενοι κατάκεινται.

Again, Ælian (*Var. Hist.*, XII, 29), quoting Timæus (about 352–256 B. C.), says of the Agrigentines: καὶ ἐλεφαντίνας κλίνας εἶχον ὅλας. This is clearly an exaggeration. It would be impossible to make rails of ivory only, and it is doubtful if the legs of couches would be strong enough unless there were a combination of other material with the ivory in their construction.[2] The most natural conclusion is that the beds were of wood extensively veneered and decorated with carvings of ivory.[3] It is not improbable, therefore, that the beds of the Agrigentines referred to in the quotation above were of the curved-rest type with legs of turned patterns.

Centers of Manufacture

Only twenty couch-makers were at work in the shop belonging to Demosthenes's father. There must have been countless similar small establishments throughout the Greek world to produce the necessary supply of such everyday articles as beds. This is, indeed, suggested by a passage in Plato, where the philosopher wishing in an illustration to use some typical craftsman selects the maker of couches.[4] By chance we hear something of the furniture industry in Sparta. The articles produced, chairs and tables as well as beds, were practical, plain, and very well made.[5] However, while common Greek couches were doubtless locally made,[6] there was probably a certain amount of traffic in beds. Xeno-

[1] See following note.

[2] In the Egyptian department of the Royal Museums at Berlin are two furniture legs (*Verz. der ägypt. Altert.*,[3] p. 33, No. 14, 110.) which, when entire, consisted each of four pieces of ivory dovetailed together and further secured by thongs of leather. Their height is 22.5 cm.; it is not probable, however, that the couches of the Agrigentines would have been so low as this; the amount of splicing necessary to produce out of only ivory a higher support renders it improbable that they would have been sufficiently strong if made after the manner of the Egyptian examples.

[3] This is the view held by M. Girard, who associates then with the Roman beds of bone to be discussed later. See GIRARD, p. 1020.

[4] *Repub.*, X, 596*b*–597*b*.

[5] Διὸ καὶ τὰ πρόχειρα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ταῦτα, κλιντῆρες καὶ δίφροι καὶ τράπεζαι, βέλτιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐδημιουργεῖτο, καὶ κώθων ὁ Λακωνικὸς εὐδοκίμει μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, ὥς φησι Κριτίας, PLUT. *Lycurg.* 9 = CRITIAS, fragm. 26 (p. 95, ed. Bach).

[6] It is a question how closely chairs, stools, and beds were associated in the process of manufacture. Apparently the slaves of Demosthenes's father did not also make chairs, or the fact would have been mentioned. The passage in Plato is favorable to the view that couch-making was a distinct trade from chair-making. On the other hand, beds very frequently had the same sort of legs as chairs. The earlier Greek couches, in fact, are little more than enlarged stools; that is, they consist merely of four legs, similar to the four legs of contemporary stools, connected by sufficiently long rails to give dimensions for accomodating a person in a reclining position. The addition of a head-rest, when that came in, did not change the character of the couches otherwise. It seems a plausible theory, therefore, that in all these cases of similarity between the legs of chairs and couches the legs would have been made up in large quantities and in various sizes, and then have been put together with an addition of rails, interlacing, etc., as chairs, stools, or beds in the same or in another workshop. Turned legs in particular might well have been produced in one establishment and the cabinet-work proper of setting the pieces of furniture together have been done in another.

phon saw some couches in the region of Salmydessus on the Black Sea which were part of the wreckage of Greek merchant ships.[1] We learn from Critias[2] that two kinds of beds were especially famous in the fifth century—those of Miletus and those of Chios. A certain number of both styles was included in the Parthenon treasure;[3] there were also some Milesian beds in the household property of Alcibiades.[4] If these were of a single distinct design and the design is known to us, it is probably the one exhibiting deeply incised, rectangular legs.[5]

ROMAN

General Statement in Regard to Material and Technic

The earlier couches of Roman date apparently followed very closely Hellenistic precedents in material and technic as in design. Among them were couches of the costliest materials, some imported, others suggested by foreign models,[6] but excelling, it may be, even anything the Hellenistic world had produced in the extravagance of rich materials which they exhibited. With the development

[1] *Anab.*, VII, 5, 14.

[2] I, 5. CRITIAS (fragm. 1, l. 5, p. 31, ed. Bach = ATHEN., I, 28*b*), mentioning various localities and the things for which they were famous, says:

εὐναίου δὲ λέχους (ἔξοχα) κάλλος ἔχει
Μίλητός τε Χίος τ', ἔναλος πόλις Οἰνοπίωνος.

There is yet another mention by Critias of these beds in a fragment from his "Constitution of Lacedæmon" (ATHEN., XI, 486*e* = CRITIAS, fragm. 28, p. 95, ed. Bach).

κλίνη Μιλησιουργὴς καὶ δίφρος Μιλησιουργής, κλίνη Χιουργὴς καὶ τράπεζα Ῥηγιοεργής.

[3] Among the accessions of the year 434–3 to the treasures kept in the Parthenon are eight κλῖναι Χιουργεῖς and ten κλῖναι Μιλησιουργεῖς, and these items continue to appear in succeeding lists until after the archonship of Euclides, when the Chian beds disappear and the number of Milesian beds is increased to sixteen. Again, after the year 385–4 the Milesian beds are reduced to ten, and are described as being in need of repair.

[4] DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*,[2] No. 44 and WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, Vol. VI (1903), pp. 236 ff.

[5] RAYET, *Monuments antiques*, article "Tombeau de Xanthos, dit monument des harpyes," p. 4, discussing the Harpy monument, calls the chair with rectangular legs and incisions Milesian, and the chair with turned legs Chian. There is no defense of the view in the passage referred to nor in any other of Rayet's writings known to me. Professor BENNDORF (*Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, p. 96), and Professor PETERSEN following him (*Ara Pacis Augustae*, p. 67, n. 1), also associate the Milesian furniture with the style having rectangular legs with incisions, but make no mention of Chian beds. Unless these authorities have evidence which has escaped my notice, the identification, although a plausible hypothesis, cannot be called obvious and indisputable. There is a fairly large stock of couch and chair representations of the fifth century, a greater variety really than for any other period, and literary evidence shows that Chian and Milesian furniture were especially famous in the fifth century. There is then a presumption that these styles would be included in the couch representations on the monuments. The elegance and richness of the couch with rectangular legs and incisions distinguish it from all others as that most likely to have been highly valued and the character of the design suggesting Asiatic origin (elaborated in the chapter on "Style" p. 73, n. 3) is favorable to the identification. Unfortunately there is no means of knowing whether Chian and Milesian furniture were alike or not. If they differed in design, as Rayet thought, the only reason that I can see for calling the important style with rectangular legs having incisions Milesian rather than Chian lies in the greater prominence of Miletus commercially. At least the fact that Milesian stools as well as beds are mentioned in literature, whereas we hear only of Chian beds, it seems to me, is very likely to be accidental, and not therefore significant on this point.

[6] PLIN., *N. H.*, XXXIII, 144.

later of a back, the Roman couch became a much more complicated structure, comparable technically with modern high-backed sofas. The production of couches of luxury seems to have increased rather than abated in the late Roman period.

Materials

Wood not combined with other materials no doubt continued to be used considerably for common couches.[1] Costly woods, probably in the form of veneers, were not unusual in expensive couches, although not employed to such an extreme extent as for tables.[2] Wood was also used for some or all of the constructional parts of couches whose beauty and richness depended upon other materials.

Wood

Ivory and Bone

If we may trust negative evidence, ivory had little use in the Roman period as an accessory material,[3] that is to say, for inlays or otherwise in small quantities. But so-called "ivory" couches, those, in all probability, which were veneered completely or nearly so with ivory were very popular.[4] The bones of horses and of other animals were employed as a cheap substitute for ivory.

Tortoise Shell

The use of tortoise shell on couches seems to have begun about 100 B. C.[5] Whether the introducer of the process learned it from the eastern world or someone in Italy invented it does not appear. In two passages (the second derived, however, from the first) it is implied that shell for this purpose was obtained from India.[6] A large part of the surface of the structures must have been covered to warrant their being regularly called "tortoise-shell" couches.[7] Silver, gold, and jewels were at times combined with tortoise shell,[8] but always, as far as literary evidence shows, as secondary materials.

Iron

Iron was sometimes used as an invisible support within the legs of couches,[9] and possibly was otherwise employed in their manufacture.[10]

[1] SEN., *Ep.*, 17, 12. Willow and maple (probably one of the commoner sorts) are referred to by OV., *Met.*, VIII, 656–59, and *Ep. ex Ponto*, III, 3, 14. The couches which appear on the gravestones of Roman soldiers from the second century on look for the most part to be entirely of wood.

[2] MART., XIV, 85, and PERS., I, 52, 53. Besides the fact that tables are much more frequently mentioned in literature, it is evident from MART., IX, 59, 9, that it was not considered necessary for the dining-couches and tables to match in material.

[3] There are no extant specimens of ivory inlays, although inlaid work in metal of Roman date is not rare, and there are few passages which could imply a sparing use of ivory. See, however, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Paedag.*, II, 3, p. 188, where among things one should *not* desire couches with silver legs, further adorned with *ivory*, are mentioned.

[4] HOR., *Sat.*, II, 6, 103, speaks of couches of ivory among the objects to be seen in a rich man's house; ivory couches were used at a dinner given to the pontiffs in the time of Julius Cæsar (MACROB., *Saturn.*, III, 13, 11); Julius Cæsar's funeral couch was of ivory (SUET., *Iul.*, 84).

[5] PLIN., *N. H.*, IX, 39; XXXIII, 144.

[6] LUCIAN, *Asin.*, 621, and APUL., *Met.*, X, 34.

[7] See the long list of references given by MAU, col. 371. There are no passages known to me which imply a sparing use of it as ornament.

[8] *Digest*, XXXII, 100, 4; LUCIAN, *Asin.*, 621; MART., XII, 66, 5.

[9] See BRIZIO, p. 451, Fig. 18.

[10] I know no literary evidence for the use of iron in the construction of beds during the Roman period. The Museo delle Terme in Rome and the Musée

Bronze

There are a few references in literature[1] to bronze beds, but the many surviving parts of beds with bronze attachments are better testimony to the large use of the product in this way. It was usually enriched with inlays of silver and often also with inlays of copper.

The Precious Metals

"Gold" and "silver" couches came into notice in Italy about the same time with those of tortoise shell.[2] Yet they did not perhaps become very general articles of luxury until about the beginning of the Christian era.[3] The terms "gold" and "silver" thus used are probably to be understood in a way analogous to "ivory" and "tortoise shell;" that is, as denoting couches whose visible surfaces were nearly or quite covered with plating or washes of the precious metals.[4] After the beginning of the second century A. D. there were instances of couches of solid silver.[5] Both silver and gold found constant subsidiary use in enriching other materials.[6]

Jewels

Finally couches were even adorned with jewels.[7]

Technic

Early Period

The technic of two classes of early Roman couches is illustrated in extant specimens. I refer to the various bronze and bone parts of couches scattered in the museums of Europe and the United States. Hitherto unpublished specimens in bronze are given in Plates VIII–XIX, and details in regard to them in Section I of the Supplementary Matter. For the general facts as to the construction of these

Bronze Couches

beds see under the Greek period, pp. 41 and 50.

Couches of Bone

Only recently has the construction of couches of bone been better understood. The first specimen to attract attention, one found at Norcia, was put together by Pasqui without reference to other monumental evidence.[8] The bed from Orvieto which is published here (Plates XX–XXVI) was apparently restored

de St. Germain possess folding stools of iron, and there is another in private possession in England (formerly in the Forman Collection; see the Sale Catalogue, p. 232). Since these other articles of furniture were made of iron, it is not impossible that iron was sometimes used for the parts of beds.

[1] *E. g.*, Juv., XI, 98; Plin., *N. H.*, XXXIV, 14; Liv., XXXIX, 6.

[2] Plin., *N. H.*, XXXIII, 144.

[3] *Ibid.*, 146, and for a public banquet in the reign of Caligula, not ivory (*cf.* p. 55, n. 4), but silver, couches were used (Suet., *Calig.*, 32).

[4] From the last passage referred to in the preceding note it is clear that silver was sometimes in the form of removable plates. *Cf.* on this point also Mart., IX, 22, 6. Mart., VIII, 33, 6, suggests exceedingly thin plating or foil. In the gold-room of the Louvre is a folding stool from Ostia, of iron plated with silver. This suggests that the Roman silver couches like the bone ones may at least have had an iron core in the legs.

[5] *Digest*, XXXIII, 10, 9, 1; *Hist. Aug. Vit. Elag.*, 20, 4.

[6] See the end of the preceding paragraph, also under "tortoise shell."

[7] Lucan, X. 310, 126; Mart., XII, 66, 5; *Digest*, XXXIII, 10, 3, 3; possibly also Sen., *Ep.*, 110, 12.

[8] He himself states this (Pasqui, col. 236): "Proposta la ricostruzione di quel letto . . . . si pensò risolvere il problema coll'esame stesso dei frammenti e sopratutto coi rapporti di dimensione, piuttosto che cogli esempî di *klinai* e di letti funebri, che pitture parietali e vasculari, sculture e ceramiche decorate di rilievi in copia grandissima ci presentano."

in accordance with the one from Norcia.[1] In 1902 in tombs near Ancona remains of beds of bone were found and were recognized by Signor Brizio, who published them,[2] to be of the design rendered familiar by the Pompeian beds of wood combined with bronze. One of these couches has been put together: the restoration appears to me questionable in only one important point; namely that the legs at about half their height have been braced by rails on all sides of the bed.[3] Signor Brizio refers to the Norcia bed, without, however, pointing out (if he recognized the fact) that it ought to be restored like the one from Ancona, after the design of the Pompeian couch. The Norcia bed is fully discussed by Dr. Graeven,[4] who gives a photographic view of it and publishes with very instructive comments a large number of other fragments from beds of bone or ivory. He points out that the medallions, and the moldings of bone framing them in their present situation on the rails of the bed (*cf.* Plate XX), are parts of *fulcra* and that the slant given to the frame from the bottom outward is unwarranted; he accepts, however, the width of the rails and the placing of the lions' masks at the corners. This last seems to me open to grave doubts. The narrow rails of the restored Ancona bed are made to conform to the Pompeian design. The greater width of those of the Norcia and Orvieto couches is determined by the dimensions of the lions' masks and the figures in relief (see Plate XX) which it is assumed must have adorned them. But it is strange that in general these couches should have conformed to the type which seems to have been the prevailing one in the late Greek and early Roman periods, and yet differ from it in this one important particular. The bed published in the frontispiece has, indeed, a wide rail with high relief ornaments, but it is of an entirely different type. In all the numerous representations of beds with turned legs and curved *fulcra* there is not a single one known to me showing wide rails and ornament in relief, nor is one to be found among the bronze survivals from such couches. Therefore, until monumental evidence in support of such a restoration is found, it appears to me safer to doubt the attribution of a given bone carving to a given

[1] Reference is made in the documents accompanying this bed when it came into the possession of the Field Columbian Museum to the bed from Norcia as the one other existent specimen of the kind. Further, a comparison of the two shows many points of agreement.

[2] Brizio, pp. 445 ff.; described briefly, *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVIII (1903), *Anz.*, p. 89.

[3] These, the restorer thinks, are a constructional necessity because of the great height (67 cm.) of the couches. (The height is fixed by the length of the iron rods which formed the strength of the legs, Brizio, p. 456.) But the couches may have been manufactured merely for the tomb, as Pasqui suggested in the case of the Norcia couch (Pasqui, col. 241) and may not have been very firm. Further, this is not an isolated instance; on the contrary, as has been seen, a height so great as apparently to involve unsteadiness is frequent in ancient couches, and the problem was not solved, so far as monumental evidence shows, by the use of rails half way between the floor and the frame of the bed (*cf.* pp. 43 ff.). The braces of the "bisellia" cited by Signor Brizio in support of his restoration are themselves restorations.

[4] Graeven, pp. 82 ff.

couch when no other place can be found for it than on the rail. Various objects were buried in tombs, the use of bone was not confined to beds, and medallions and masks ornamented other structures than beds. It is not essential, therefore, to assume that every carving in bone found in a tomb in which there was a bed of bone belonged on that bed. In the case of the couch from Orvieto, however, the relief carvings may be otherwise disposed of, in a way suggested by Dr. Graeven for similar carvings of which he gives a photograph.[1] They probably ornamented the legs of the couch. For this good analogies may be cited on ancient monuments. The writer just named refers to the publication by Dr. Hauser[2] of a marble chair-leg of turned members, interrupted by a circlet of figures in relief; there are also instances on Pompeian wall-paintings.[3] This is the more probable in the case of the Orvieto couch because the legs are otherwise quite plain, whereas the couch from Norcia has members adorned with foliage patterns. Further, the carvings on the bed from Orvieto are so curved that they must have surrounded some circular object, and, if on the bed at all, they then necessarily decorated the legs. It is inconceivable that they should have been left, even in a provincial, crude art, so unworkmanlike as they now appear with interstices between the panels. An examination of the present structure proves, if it is not sufficiently evident from Plates XXIV and XXV, that it is impossible to adjust these carvings neatly to a corner position.

Some of the medallions of bone published by Dr. Graeven, like those of the Orvieto couch, have considerable projection; others are in low relief.[4] The same writer has recognized a low-relief carving in bone belonging to the curve between the extremities[5] of an upright of a *fulcrum* and upper end-pieces of uprights, which, unlike the horses' heads of the Ancona couch and their bronze prototypes, are in low relief.[6] That these last also go back to bronze models seems clear, as is pointed out, from the fact that they represent aquatic birds, with heads turned about in a position as nearly like that of the bronze heads in the round as it is possible to get in relief, and, what is more significant, that they exhibit the same double-curved termination[7] where the neck stops as is found in bronzes. This extant work in bone and bronze has the additional interest of suggesting how more expensive couches may have been made. I am convinced that all speculations as to the construction of the elegant Roman couches of the first century before and the first century after Christ must reckon with the prevalence of the type of couch known

[1] GRAEVEN, pp. 90 ff., Phot. 55.

[2] *Jahrb.*, Vol. IV (1889), pp. 255 ff.

[3] Dr. Hauser cites RAOUL ROCHETTE, *Peintures de Pompéi*, Plate X. There is another example in the house of the Vettii: Brogi, photograph No. 11,203.

[4] GRAEVEN, Phot. 33, 34, 37.

[5] *Ibid.*, Phot. 59.

[6] *Ibid.*, Phot. 31 and 61.

[7] An explanation of this form is offered, p. 86.

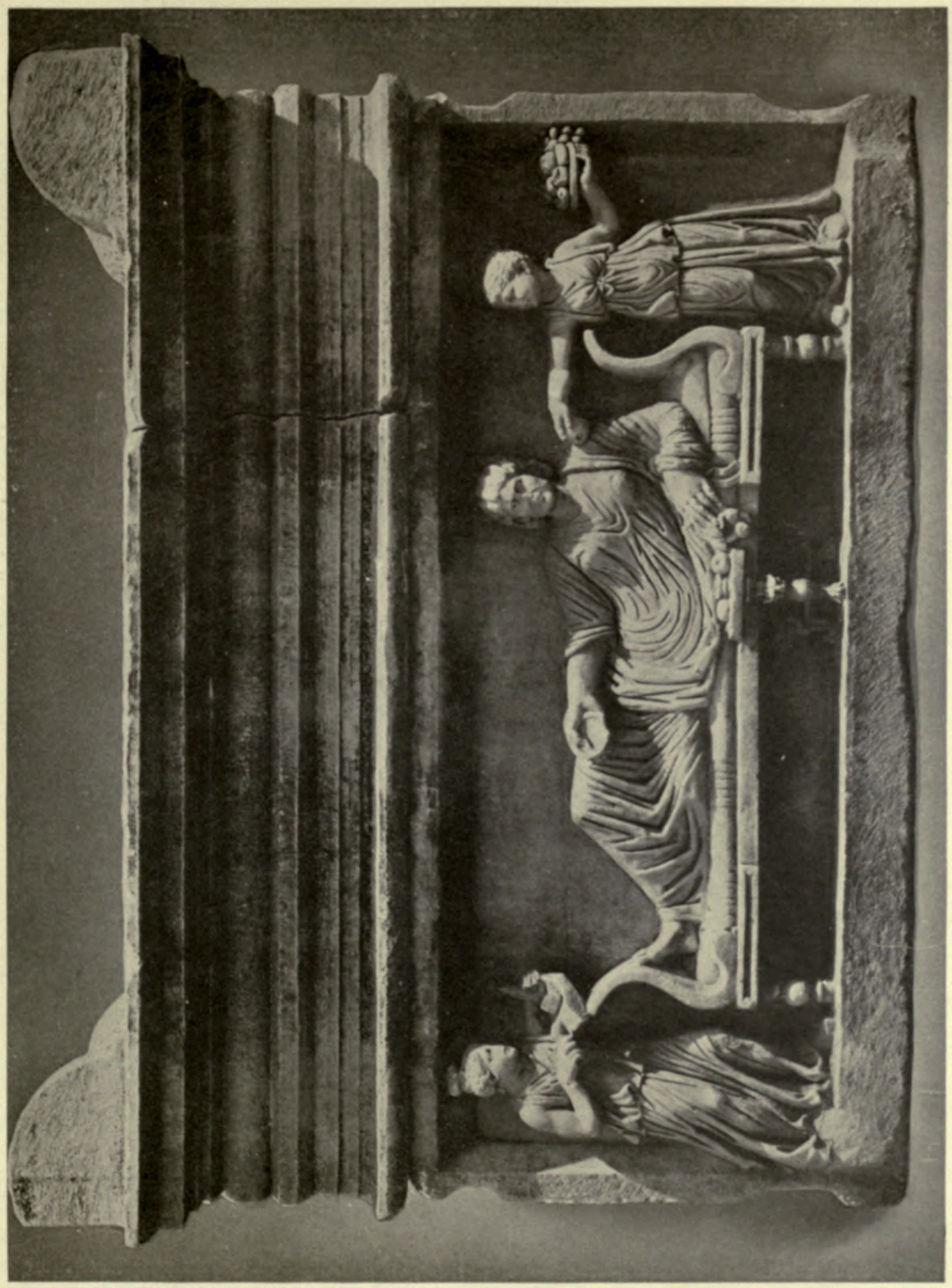


FIG. 31.—Roman Sarcophagus from Syria.—*Constantinople.*

to us in preserved specimens. There have been no certain couch remains recognized which are irreconcilable with the design having turned legs and curved *fulcra* and the variety and number of existent bone and bronze parts of couches fitting into the general design in question are abundant positive evidence of its prevalence. Accordingly, I should imagine the tortoise-shell couches to have had a frame of wood, strengthening-rods of iron through the legs, and a veneering of the shell, the ornaments of the *fulcra* being treated flatly, like some of the ornaments in bone mentioned above. It seems particularly reasonable to suppose that bone was a cheap substitute for ivory, and that the provincial structures of bone reproduce for us in a crude way the beautiful ivory beds of the wealthier centers of civilization. Nor do I believe that the silver and gold couches departed very far in their construction from the models afforded by the commoner couches of wood with bronze attachments. Varro[1] indeed implies variety in the size and shape of couches of his day, but not greater than is secured in the different renderings of the design in question.

Late Period

The changes in form which gradually took place in the first century A. D.—that is, the increase in the height of the *fulcra* and the upright position given to them—prepared the way for the introduction of the back. Whatever we may think of the comparative æsthetic merits of the Græco-Roman couch just under consideration and the high-backed Roman type, there can be no doubt that the latter is a much more developed construction. On Plate XXVII is given a working drawing to be executed entirely in wood, which was prepared on the basis of the couch pictured in Fig. 31.[2] There is much more that is conjectural than in the drawing for the Greek couch (Plate II), but it is an interesting attempt to divine the Roman workman's methods. It seems to me probable that in the couch represented in Plate XXVIII the legs, the panels at the corners of the rails, and the uprights in dolphin form of the headboard and footboard were of metal.

Places of Manufacture

It remains only to say the little that is possible on the subject of the places of manufacture. Delian and Punic couches were in use in Italy in the last century before Christ and gave rise to imitations;[3] the Punic couches are described by Isidorus as small and low.[4] Many of the existent parts of couches give evidence in style of having come from the same factory; for instance, many of the mules' heads crowned with ivy agree closely enough to imply a common origin. But nothing definite is known about any of these Italian centers of manufacture. Brunn recognized the provincial character of the beds of bone. Pasqui thought that Norcia

[1] *L. L.*, VIII, 31, 32.

[2] This I owe likewise to the courtesy of the Tobey Furniture Company and the careful oversight of Mr. Twyman. *Cf.* p. 45.

[3] See p. 54, n. 6.

[4] Isid., *Orig.* XX, 11, 3, says: "Punicani lecti parvi, et humiles, primum a Carthagine advecti, et inde nominati. *Cf.* also Cic., *Pro Mur.*, 36, 75.

might have been the center of their production.[1] The discovery of similar work at Ancona and Orvieto suggests that they were made in many places. Libyan couches[2] were probably not a class distinct from Punic.

The names of two couch-makers of the first century A. D. are known[3] who were famous for the humbleness of their products; these are Archias and Soterichus. Beitenus was a couch-maker of one of the Greek islands in Roman times.[4] One would like to know more about Carvilius Pollio,[5] the introducer of rich couches of gold, silver, and tortoise shell—whether he was concerned commercially in these innovations, or whether he was merely a wealthy man who set the fashion for others.

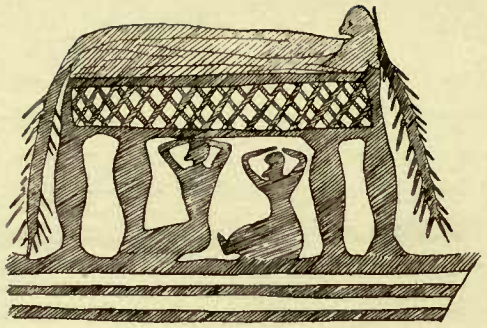
[1] PASQUI, col. 242; *cf.* p. 108.

[2] VERG., *Cir.*, 440.

[3] HOR., *Ep.*, I, 5, 1; SEN., fragm. 114.

[4] *I. G.*, II, 2135 and *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1900, MICHON, "Stèle de Beitenos Hermes." Miss Mary B. Peaks has kindly brought to my notice several other couch-makers whose names I am able to add in the proof. These are: Rhesus, slave of Caninius (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 2, 7988), the slave Romanus (*op. cit.*, VI, 2, 9503), the freedman Lucius Hostilius Amphio (*op. cit.*, VI, 2, 7882), and probably Gaius Parc . . . . (*op. cit.*, XI, 2, 5439). Two of these artisans seem to have been Greeks. *Cf.* p. 89.

[5] See p. 55, n. 5.



CHAPTER III

INTERLACED FILLING OF COUCH FRAMES

An interwoven filling for couch frames as for chair frames was common in antiquity. Actual remains of plaiting in various materials have been preserved in Egypt, dating from at least as early as the New Empire down to the Græco-Roman period.[1] It is highly probable that the strap of red leather mentioned in the Homeric description of the bed of Odysseus[2] was for this purpose. The earliest Greek couch representations, those on vases of the Dipylon class, occasionally show a plaiting (see headpiece of this chapter).[3] There is literary and monumental evidence sufficient to prove that such interlaced filling was common in the historical Greek and Roman periods.[4] That it was the only filling used is perhaps too much to assert; yet I cannot see where Professor Blümner gets the information: "auf die Gurte, deren Stelle mitunter auch *ein festes Brett* vertritt, wurden die Matratzen oder Polster gelegt."[5] It would seem on the face of it probable that a flexible interlacing would

[1] Almost every large collection of Egyptian antiquities has one or more pieces of furniture showing the traces of attachment to the frame if not bits of the actual plaiting. But few of these remains of plaiting are published. See, however, *Verz. der ägypt. Altert.*[2], of the Royal Museums at Berlin, pp. 194 ff., and *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 132, Fig. 7.

[2] See p. 39, n. 1.

[3] See also RAYET and COLLIGNON, *Cér. gr.*, Plate I = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. IX, Plates XXXIX and XL.

[4] HEROD., IX, 118; THUC., IV, 48, 3; CATO, *De Agric.*, 10, 5; CIC., *De Div.*, II, 134; PETRON., 97; POLL., X, 36. The well-known low bronze bed in the Etruscan museum of the Vatican (*Museo etrusco gregoriano*, I, Plate XV = BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 326 = HELBIG, *Führer*[2], Vol. II, p. 360, No. 1333) presents a full-sized example of a bed-lacing of early date. One gets occasionally experiments in perspective whereby the bottoms of chairs appear (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1869, Plate 17; *ibid.*, 1885, Plate 15; FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, Plate 20; a coin of Macedonia, HEAD, *A Guide to the Principal Gold and Silver Coins of the Ancients*, Plate 65, 8). The unique bed of Procrustes (REINACH, *Peintures de vases antiques*, Millingen, Plate 9 = BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 327) also has slight indications of crossing strands and their attachment to the rails. An unpublished, small leaden bed, found with other toys in a child's grave in Eretria, and now in the Louvre, and the small terra-cotta from Egypt (Plate VII*a*, but unfortunately not showing the top in the illustration), both have their interlacing indicated. See other examples mentioned farther on in this chapter.

[5] Article Betten in BAUMEISTER, p. 312.

have been preferred on all pieces of furniture for reclining, as affording greater comfort.[1] Perhaps flexible fillings of material in large pieces, instead of in narrow interwoven strips, were sometimes used, but there is no evidence known to me for this.

Materials Which Were Interwoven

One passage in Herodotus (IX, 118) points to leather as a material which was interwoven in couch frames, since besieged people on the verge of starvation boil the thongs, as we may here translate τόνοι, of their beds for food. Horse's hide was used for this purpose, if Dr. Wilhelm's surmise in regard to κά]λω ἱππείω δύο, occurring in the lists of the property of the Hermocopidæ, is correct.[2] The word *lora*, somewhat uncommon, however, in application to beds, seems to have been used only of leather. In the inventory given by Cato[3] of furnishings necessary to run a farm of 240 *iugera*, the items *lectus in cubiculo I*, *lecti loris subtenti* IIII, *lecti* III occur. Beds stretched with *lora* are to be distinguished from other beds, and in the absence of decisive evidence for anything else than an interlaced filling, the difference would seem to have been in the material stretched; the other beds might well have been corded. Σπάρται, from its derivation,[4] would probably have been applied only to vegetable materials. The opinion of Suidas in regard to other Greek terms is not to be ignored. He defines κειρία as εἶδος ζώνης ἐκ σχοινίων, παρεοικὸς ἱμάντι ᾗ δεσμοῦσι τὰς κλίνας, and of its diminutive says, κειρίον δὲ τὸ σχοινίον. Under τόνος he gives τόνος καὶ τοῦ κραββάτου τὰ σχοινία. Pollux quotes (X, 64), apropos of athletics, a fragment of Æschylus, λινᾶ δὲ, πίσσα κώμολίνου μακροὶ τόνοι; hence τόνος was a comprehensive term which included cords of flax, or of whatever species of reeds or rushes is denoted by σχοινία, as well as the leather strips apparently meant in the passage from Herodotus. With all this literary evidence it is safe to conclude that in Greek and Roman beds, as in Egyptian, both cordage of various vegetable substances and interwoven strips of leather were employed. Turning to the monuments, one finds few representations of the tops of beds realistic or clear enough to be decisive

[1] This was certainly the rule in Egypt. Although some extant stools have wooden bottoms, none of the couches have.

[2] See p. 111, n. 20.

[3] For reference, see p. 62, n. 4.

[4] In SEILER-CAPELLE, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden* and EBELING, *Lexicon Homericum*, both following CURTIUS, *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5], p. 288, the word σπάρτον is said to be related to σπεῖρα and to be derived from σπείρω, "to twist, coil." The term would naturally have been applied to vegetable fibers which needed to be twisted together to produce strands for interweaving, whereas it is inappropriate to leather which was not twisted, but cut in strips of suitable width. Ebeling and the authorities whom he quotes all understand the Homeric term as denoting plant materials. For its application in later times to ropes made from hemp and other plants, and its transference finally to a plant introduced from Spain and to cordage made from the latter, we have the authority of Varro and Pliny. See passages quoted in BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, Vol. I, p. 294, n. 4.

on this point. One interesting confirmation, however, of the use of leather plaiting on beds is furnished by the marble fragment from Pergamon of a full-sized reproduction of a bed, shown from the top in Plate V. There can be no doubt, on close view, that leather bands are intended. Any vegetable material of the nature of modern cane would have a slightly convex surface; ropes are certainly not represented. Leather is therefore the most probable material, and the strips look like leather; the varying width, the slight curling of the edges, and the thickness are extremely well rendered. An analogy to this interlacing may be mentioned in the chair-back of the high-relief Zeus figure of poros in the Acropolis museum. It, too, has a framework richly ornamented with rosettes and other motives, and the leather strips, which are narrower, are in three colors, woven closely without interstices in a checked pattern.[1]

Methods of Plaiting and Attachment

On the monuments interlacings almost invariably appear to be diagonal.[2] In some cases, no doubt, the strands actually ran diagonally, as in the Pergamon couch and in the back of the chair of the Zeus relief. In others, however, they may have been merely so woven as to produce diagonal patterns, while in reality lying parallel with the rails, as in numerous preserved Egyptian bits of rope or rush plaiting. The true diagonal interlacing was perhaps due to a practical reason—the wish to use without visible splicing the varying lengths which would result in cutting up a hide.[3] The primitive method in attaching an interlacing to the frame of a chair or couch was for the separate strands to be slung about the rails and variously knotted on their inner faces. Evidence of the use by the Greeks of this method, which was common in Egypt, is seen in the vertical lines on the rails of furniture as portrayed in vase-paintings.[4] The disappearance of these lines corresponds no doubt to the introduction of the practice of piercing the rails with holes to accommodate the strands of the interlacing.[5]

In the absence of actual remains of Greek or Roman date, an Egyptian couch[6]

[1] The chair stands in the museum ordinarily with the back to the wall, and would have escaped my notice but for the kindness of Dr. Schrader, second secretary of the German Institute, who called my attention to it. I am able, just as these pages are going to press, to add the reference WIEGAND, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, p. 99, Fig. 99 and Plate VIII.

[2] In the vase-painting of a chair, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1885, Plate 15, the strands perhaps run parallel with the sides of the frame.

[3] There is no advantage in resisting strains in the diagonal method; on the contrary, strands parallel with the rails distribute the strain at any given place more completely over the entire interlacing. The corded bedsteads which in modern times preceded the present slats and springs or woven wire mattresses were, so far as I can learn, corded lengthwise and crosswise, not diagonally.

[4] See the bed figured in *J. H. S.*, Vol. II (1881), Plate 10, and further remarks on this theme in the *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 132.

[5] A few instances of dots on the rails of furniture as portrayed in vase-paintings may be intended for such holes. See the bed of Procrustes referred to on p. 62 in n. 4.

[6] In the Egyptian Department of the Royal Museums at Berlin: *Verz. der ägypt. Altert.*[2], p. 196, No. 9592. See p. 97, n. 2.

which has some of its leather interlacing still preserved is of interest. Figs. 32 and 33 give a vertical section and a sketch from the inner face of a rail of this couch. The strands are fastened somewhat like machine stitching; that is, they are drawn up and down through the same hole, being caught below by another strap of leather which passes continuously along the lower edge of the rail, performing the same

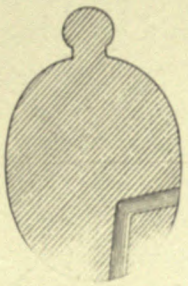


FIG. 32.—Section.

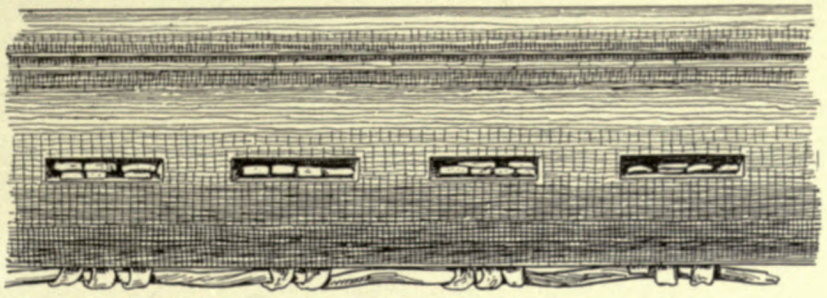


FIG. 33.—Sketch of wooden rail of an Egyptian couch. Inner side.—*Berlin*

office for all the holes of that rail. This makes possible a single, taut interlacing reaching to the very surface of the rail, since all the strands enter the interlacing from the same level. Possibly the filling of the Pergamon couch represents the same principle. The thickness of the rail, as shown in Plate VI, is so great as to make it improbable that the holes were pierced vertically. A proposed sectional restoration through one of the holes is given in Fig. 34. A neat feature of the Pergamon couch is the strip which hides the adjustment of the leather bands into their holes, and with its double curve forms a transition from the level of the frame to the slightly lower level of the interlacing. Petronius's tale[1] of the boy Giton in hiding under a bed, clinging with hands and feet to its *institae*, suggests either an interlacing with extremely large interstices, or one in which on the under surface strands were carried from side to side without interweaving.[2]

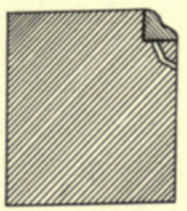


FIG. 34.

[1] PETRON., 97.

[2] This arrangement would give three levels of strands, the upper interlaced surface and the two under sets of strands passing in directions at right angles to one another. In the anthropological collection housed in the Natural History Museum at Hamburg is a rude couch from east Africa, No. C 799, which has such a filling. Lowest of all are the strands passing from side to side of the couch, in the middle are those running from end to end, and in the upper surface are the two sets woven in a diagonal pattern.

CHAPTER IV

FURNISHINGS—MATTRESSES, PILLOWS, VALANCES, AND DRAPERIES

Four kinds of furnishings may be noted in antique representations of Greek and Roman couches.[1] These are mattresses, pillows, valances, and loose draperies, the last either covering the occupants of the bed or thrown over the bed itself, often in such a way as to perform the office of a valance. Three factors chiefly would seem to have determined the nature of the bed-furnishings in a given case: the styles prevalent at the time, the sort of couch to be furnished, and the purpose for which it was to be used. All couches had for comfort a mattress or other covering over the interlacing and one or more pillows; those for sleeping were provided with various coverlets.[2] The thickness of the mattress, however, the stuffs and patterns of the furnishings, and other details naturally varied at different periods.[3] Draperies covering the couch and valances do not belong to the essential furnishings, and are accordingly often absent from the representations of couches. They were used either as luxurious accessories on very fine couches, or apparently to conceal rude or very plain structures,[4] or possibly in some cases to hide the under surface of the interlacing.

On a few of the Dipylon vases with prothesis scenes a covering which was over the top of the couch under the corpse is represented (see Fig. 1). It is of checked pattern in the few instances known.[5] The large Corinthian craters (see

[1] In the Homeric period skins and woolen bedclothes were in use at night. Buchholz thinks that Homeric beds had also mattresses and pillows, and perhaps linen coverlets in addition to those of wool. See BUCHHOLZ, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 157–161.

[2] The drapery of the occupants of banquet couches seems to be their himatia or other outer garments, to judge by the way the folds are drawn up over their shoulders, rather than especially provided coverings. In literature it is usually not clear just how the various draperies mentioned were disposed.

[3] This is not, of course, to assert that there was absolute uniformity at any one time.

[4] So Professor WINTER thinks in the case of a funerary couch on a white lecythus published by him under the title: *Eine attische Lekythos des Berliner Museums;* see p. 6.

[5] See also RAYET and COLLIGNON, *Cér. gr.*, p. 27, Fig. 19.

Figs. 35 and 2)[1] of the earlier half of the sixth century show both beds with incised, rectangular legs, and those with turned legs furnished with a thick mattress; thrown over this is a covering which hides the bed-frame and in part the legs.[2] These draperies often have running lengthwise broad stripes of solid red or of cross-hatchings, scale or other patterns, and fringe on their lower edges. Each person is provided with one pillow under his elbow, and the lower part of his figure is enveloped in his himation.[3] Perhaps as old as these Corinthian vases is a black-figured Attic cylix in Berlin[4] on which occur thick mattresses with fringed draperies over them.[5] On a Corinthian vase of slightly later date the bed portrayed (Fig. 4) also has a very thick mattress, and above it a thinner one. The thicker mattress is on top in a Chalcidian vase-painting[6] (Fig. 5), dating from about the middle of the sixth century. In the Etruscan wall decoration of Fig. 8, from the latter half of the century, there is again a single thick mattress.[7] All these have close-fitting, often patterned cases on the mattresses, instead of the fringed coverings prevalent earlier. The Etruscan example cited has also over the mattress a wide-bordered cloth; this may have served the purpose of holding the thick mattress in place,

FIG. 35.—Achilles attended in illness by Thetis. Detail from a Corinthian vase-painting.—*Louvre.*

[1] See also *Vases ant. du Louvre*, Series I, Plate 45, E 623; Plate 46, E 629 and E 630; Plate 48, E 634 and E 635.

[2] There can be no doubt that there is a thick mattress underneath the drapery, for no other supposition will account for the great height of the reclining person from the floor.

[3] The bed, also from a Corinthian vase, represented in Fig. 3, is exceptional at this period in having no visible mattress, and in being furnished with what to all appearance is a valance fastened to the rail between the legs.

[4] FURTWÄNGLER, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* (Berlin), No. 17.

[5] Other early examples of the fringed drapery thrown over mattress and upper part of couch appear on a black-figured œnochoe from the necropolis of Suessula, published in the *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. II (1887), Plate XI–XII, 4, and the British Museum lebes, B 46, given in *B. M. Vases*, Vol. II, p. 62 under imitations of Corinthian ware, and by Dr. KARO in *J. H. S.*, Vol. XIX (1899), p. 144 as Ionic; also *J. H. S.*, Vol. VII (1886), p. 197; *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Vol. XVII (1893), p. 236, Fig. 4.

[6] *Cf.* the approximately contemporary Chalcidian vase, BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 19 = *Arch. Zeit.*, 1866, Plate 206, which shows the earlier fashion of fringed, striped drapery over the mattress.

[7] On the Etruscan monuments very thick mattresses continued on into the fifth century. See BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 549 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. VI, Plate 54 = DE LONGPÉRIER, *Musée Napoléon III*, Plate XXXV; *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura dell'Accademia dei Lincei*, Vol. VIII, Plate XIII; *Ant. Denkm.*, II, Plate 43.

since it does not hang loosely, but is tucked in above the rail. The couches on vases of the developed black-figured style have one or more pillows at the head and mattresses of moderate thickness, often only one, then again a thicker under mattress, and above it one or two less thick.[1] The same arrangements are seen on some red-figured vases.[2] The tendency, however, is toward thinner mattresses (*cf.* Figs. 6 and 26). On some banquet couches of the fifth century, as pictured on vases, the only furnishings visible are pillows (see Figs. 9, 22, and 28), yet it seems as if these couches must have had at least coverlets over the interlacings.[3] In Fig. 36 is given a selection of pillows showing the variety of striped stuffs used for making the cases. The pillows were of varying shapes; some seem to be long and round like bolsters, others approximately square and more or less flat; the frontispiece shows oblong, fairly thick pillows. Pillows at the feet of the reclining person (see Fig. 29 and Plate VII*b*), to which M. Girard calls attention,[4] appear first in the fifth century. The earliest certain instance of a valance known to me is that of Fig. 44; here surely the drapery is fastened to the couch frame. In many vase-paintings the couch does not show at all (Fig. 37); one or more mattresses and pillows, and a fulled

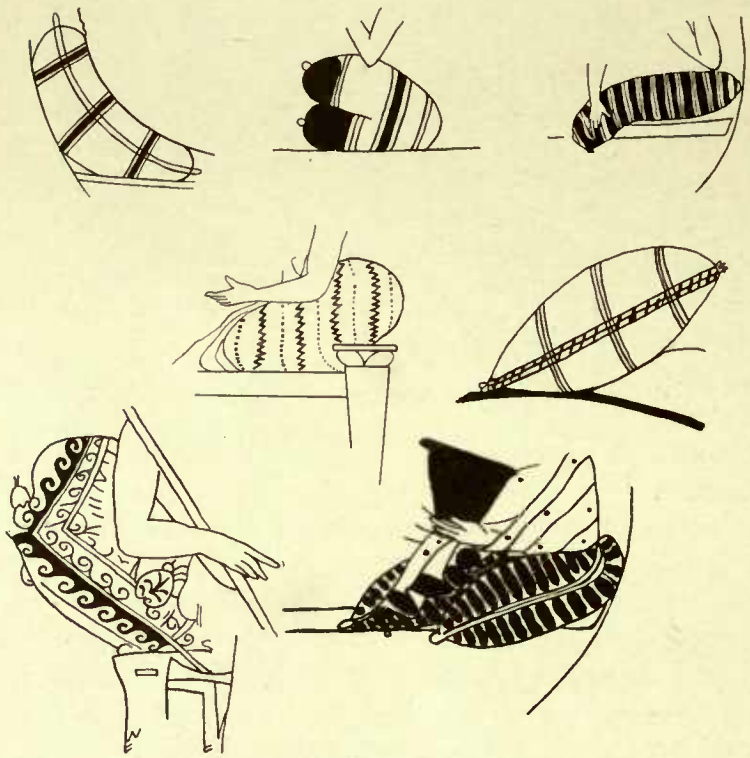


FIG. 36.—Various styles of pillows and bolsters. From Greek vase-paintings.

[1] It is usually difficult to tell whether a single mattress striped lengthwise is intended or separate mattresses. Where, however, as on a black-figured hydria, B 301, in the British Museum (MICALI, *Storia*, Plate 89), the ends of the mattresses fall over the bed separately, there can be no doubt in the matter.

[2] BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 791 = *Mon. d. I.*, Vol. VIII, Plate XXVII; *Jahrb.*, Vol. XV (1900), p. 78, Fig. 13 = *Arch. Zeit.*, 1867, Plate 220; BAUMEISTER, Vol. I, Fig. 447 = OVERBECK, *Atlas der Kunstmythologie*, Plate VI, 2 and 3, etc.

[3] ARISTOPH., *Lysistr.*, 916 ff., suggests that so slight a padding as a rush mat would suffice. *Cf.* Fig. 13 where perhaps a ψιαθος is represented.

[4] GIRARD, p. 1018.

drapery fastened to the upper surface of the rail or to the mattress,[1] envelop it.[2] There are instances in the fifth century of a loose covering over the mattress hanging down to conceal the entire bed, except the lower part of the legs. A richly figured example from a Bœotian vase is shown in the headpiece of this chapter. On the Gjölbaschi frieze the beds with turned legs are so covered.[3] A fashion which I have not noted on monuments earlier than the fourth century is the presence of a loose drapery hanging down over couches from under the mattress. An early example of this is seen on the marble funerary couch published by Dr. Vollmöller, of which a reduced view is repeated here in Fig. 38. In this the drapery in part conceals the legs. Peculiar to the couches represented in the Myrina terra-cottas and their analogues (p. 29) is the drapery falling over the front of the couch from under the mattress to the floor, and just filling in the space between the legs, but never hiding them (Fig. 30). Also of about this time probably is the bit of Egyptian faïence (Fig. 13, also p. 97, n. 2) which shows a couch with a rush mat or covering of other loosely woven material thrown over it. The details of a valance of the beginning of the second century B. C., elaborately figured in horizontal registers, are admirably reproduced in the Pergamene fragments of Plates IV and VI.[4] Another richly figured valance is represented in a rude terra-cotta from Egypt (Plate VII*a*).[5] The present rapid sketch may be terminated with a mention of the exceptionally thick mattresses of Roman date which put in an appearance some time after Christ. These are best represented in the covers of Roman sarcophagi of the second century A. D. and later (see Fig. 17),[6] and are often very richly figured.

FIG. 37.—Eros ministering to the dying Adonis. Part of a red-figured vase-painting.—*Naples.*

[1] In Fig. 37 it is difficult to see how the drapery is adjusted over the headboard, unless it is fastened to the mattress whose curve it follows. It would hardly hang so full and even, if it were a large coverlet thrown over the entire couch.

[2] See the red-figured lecane published in the *Compte-rendu*, 1873, Plate VI; a funerary banquet relief from the Piræus (FRIEDRICHS-WOLTERS, *Die Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, No. 1059 = LE BAS-REINACH, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie-Mineure*, Plate 54); the British Museum Apulian crater, F 272 = *Mon. d. I.*, 1854, Plate XVI, the Apulian pelice also in the British Museum, F 311 = *Élite cér.*, II, Plate 49, and vases reproduced in REINACH, *Peintures de vases antiques*, Millin, I, Plates 59 and 69.

[3] *Gjölbaschi-Trysa*, Plates XIX, 17, 18; XX and XXI.

[4] Discussed at length pp. 93 ff.

[5] Discussed at length, p. 97.

[6] Also ROBERT, *Antike Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Vol. II, Plates VIII and XIV. *Cf.* also the thick mattress shown here in Plate XXVIII.

From literary evidence[1] it is known that mattresses and pillows were usually covered with linen, that wool was also used for both these articles, and leather to some extent for pillows. Mattresses and pillows as figured in vase-paintings might well be covered with either of the first two materials mentioned, but anything looking like leather is extremely rare; M. Girard has pointed out instances on Etruscan sarcophagi in couch form of the sixth century.[2] Silk probably found some use for pillows. The patterns seen in the ancient representations were probably, as a usual thing, woven in, but were sometimes embroidered.

A great variety of materials was used for the stuffing of pillows and mattresses.[3] The commonest material used by the Greeks seems to have been refuse

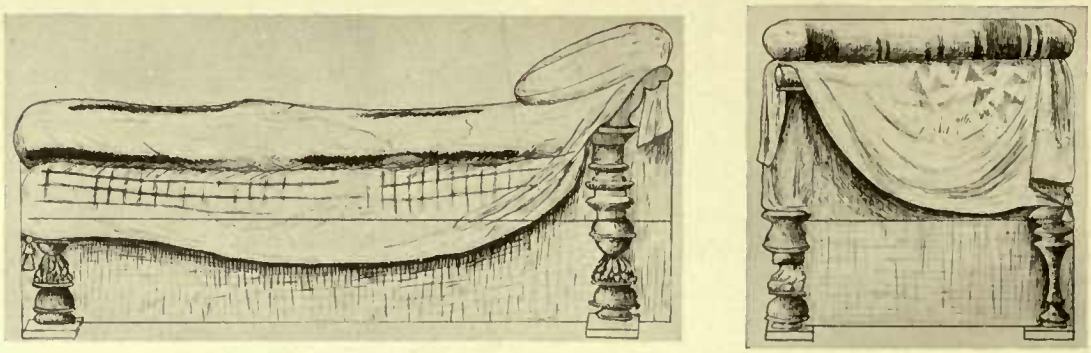


FIG. 38.—Funerary couch of marble in a tomb at Vathia on the island of Euboea.

wool, torn off in carding or in fulling cloth. The transference of the name of this wool, *κνέφαλλον*, to mattresses, and perhaps also to pillows, speaks for the frequency of its use. Both refuse wool and wool especially prepared for the purpose were used by the Romans for stuffing. The Greeks and Romans employed as a substitute for wool the soft leaves of the *gnaphalium* or cud-weed (?). The statement that straw, rushes, hay, and kindred plant materials were used before the practice of stuffing with wool came in, and continued to be in use by poor people, rests entirely on the evidence of Latin authors,[4] but is as likely to have been true of Greece as of Italy. Feather pillows are mentioned as early as the fourth century. To judge by the frequent references to them in Latin authors, they became much more common in the Roman period. The down of certain northern birds also found favor among the Romans for pillows. Cotton seems never to have had for any purpose a general use. The only mention of it as a filling for mattresses and

[1] This is most fully and conveniently stated by MAU, col. 373.

[2] GIRARD, p. 1020.

[3] The ancient sources are fully stated in BLÜMNER *Technologie*, I, p. 205; MARQUARDT-MAU, *Das Privatleben der Römer*[2], p. 724; MAU, cols. 372–3.

[4] Unless the *ἀνθήλη* of POLL., X, 41, is an instance.

pillows is in Strabo (XV, 693), who quotes Nearchus as saying that it was thus employed by the Macedonians; *i. e.*, probably those accompanying Alexander into Asia.

Linen and wool were the principal materials out of which stuffs were woven by the Greeks and Romans,[1] and accordingly found employment for the coverlets and draperies of beds. Cotton stuffs were probably not made at all in Greece or Italy. Silk was in use as early as the time of Aristotle, and probably was employed for bed-hangings, especially by the luxury-lovers among the Romans. Skins[2] and rush mats[3] were also used on beds. Pollux (X, 38 ff.) enumerates a vast number of bed-draperies, and distinguishes those which had a nap on two sides or on one only. In the absence of more explicit statements, the epithets which he applies to the various draperies are suggestive—such, for instance, as "fine," "of fine thread," "pliable;" other expressions imply that they were brightly colored, purple, scarlet, and gold being often mentioned. The patterns of these draperies as of mattress and pillow covers were sometimes woven, sometimes embroidered, often in elaborate designs.[4] Apparently stuffs of all degrees, from thin, washable[5] linen to heavy tapestries (see Plates IV and VI), were used on beds.

Some special makes of bed-furnishings are celebrated in literature. In the pre-Alexandrine period we hear of Milesian coverings.[6] Writers quoted by Athenæus refer to cloth of Amorgus and to Sardian draperies,[7] to the latter once as expensive and smooth-faced, and again as of purple color. In Latin authors there is mention of Leuconian blankets[8] (from Gaul?) and of Assyrian purple.[9] One kind of couch draperies imported from the East was known as "Babylonica."[10] Pliny,[11] quoting Cornelius Nepos, relates that the once highly prized purple cloth came into disfavor for togas because it had been used so much for couch coverings. The "Attalic mattresses" of Propertius[12] were probably mattresses covered with tapestries of a sort which originated in Pergamon.

[1] BLÜMNER, *Technologie*, Vol. I, Parts II–IV.

[2] PLAT., *Prot.*, 315*d*; CIC., *Pro Mur.*, 36, 75.

[3] See p. 68, n. 3.

[4] *E. g.*, CATULL., 64, 48 ff.

[5] HOR., *Sat.*, II, 4, 84.

[6] ARISTOPH., *Ran.*, 542.

[7] ATHEN., II, 48*b*, and VI, 255*e*.

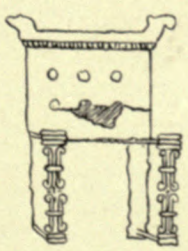
[8] Mart., XIV, 159.

[9] VERG., *Cir.*, 440.

[10] PLAUT., *Stich.*, 378.

[11] *N. H.*, IX, 137.

[12] II, 13, 22; IV, 5, 24. *Cf.* PLIN., *N. H.*, VIII, 196, where *Attalicus vestis* is said to be woven with gold and to have been invented by Attalus.



CHAPTER V

STYLE

In considering the stylistic qualities of Greek and Roman beds, attention may profitably be turned, on the one hand, to the main lines of the structures, and, on the other hand, to the ornamental details. The interest of the inquiry, however, is not in couches as isolated products of ancient industrial art, but rather in them as related to other contemporary greater and minor productions. The pottery and coins of the Greeks are striking examples of the high level to which humble industrial products may rise in the midst of a people gifted with artistic feeling. Do Greek and Roman couches show any similar superiority which would give them a unique place in a history of furniture of all times? Do they raise or lower our opinion of standards of taste among the Greeks and Romans? These questions have evoked the opinions offered in the following paragraphs. Here again an exhaustive study is out of the question, for lack both of space and of proper material, and I must confine my remarks chiefly to three classes of beds—those most clearly defined to us in ancient reproductions and preserved specimens, viz., the sixth-century and fifth-century couches with rectangular legs having incisions, the Græco-Roman beds with turned legs and curved head-rests and foot-rests, and the high-backed Roman couches.

In couches of the sixth and of the earlier half of the fifth century straight lines predominate; upright supports and horizontal rails are the rule, and head-rests, when present,[1] are usually built up on straight lines. This is a reflection of the same structural tendencies manifest in works of architecture, which, representing the post and lintel system, exhibit chiefly vertical and horizontal lines, and have at this time in the Doric style very massive columns. Heavy proportions in the human figure also, as seen in works of sculpture, terra-cottas, etc., are characteristic of the period. These couches, then, considered as designs have a severity and massiveness to be expected at this time. Many of them, however, do not show the harmony of proportion which we have been taught to look for in Greek products. The heavy legs have in reality very little to support; the rails are often narrow and seem unequal to the prospective weight implied by the supports. Many couches with rectangular legs have a further serious fault, viz., deep incisions which interrupt the outlines of the legs, and which, because they look weak,[2] are

[1] The type of couch shown in Fig. 28 has a combination of curved and straight lines in its head-rest.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 44–46.

æsthetically objectionable. Professor Blümner is the only writer on Greek furniture who seems to have appreciated this fact, or at least who has commented on it.[1] Dr. Vollmöller, on the other hand, thinks that the incisions lighten the heavy appearance of the legs.[2] If, in the use of ornament, there is any one law which is fundamental, it is that decorative designs must not break constructional lines. I have searched in vain in ancient art for anything similar in nonconformity to this principle to these couch legs. Assyrian furniture (*e. g.*, Fig. 39)[3] frequently shows two double volutes with a connecting-link like those on many of the couches in question; these are surface ornaments, however, inclosing, but not encroaching into, the mass of the members which they decorate. The incised legs of Greek couches

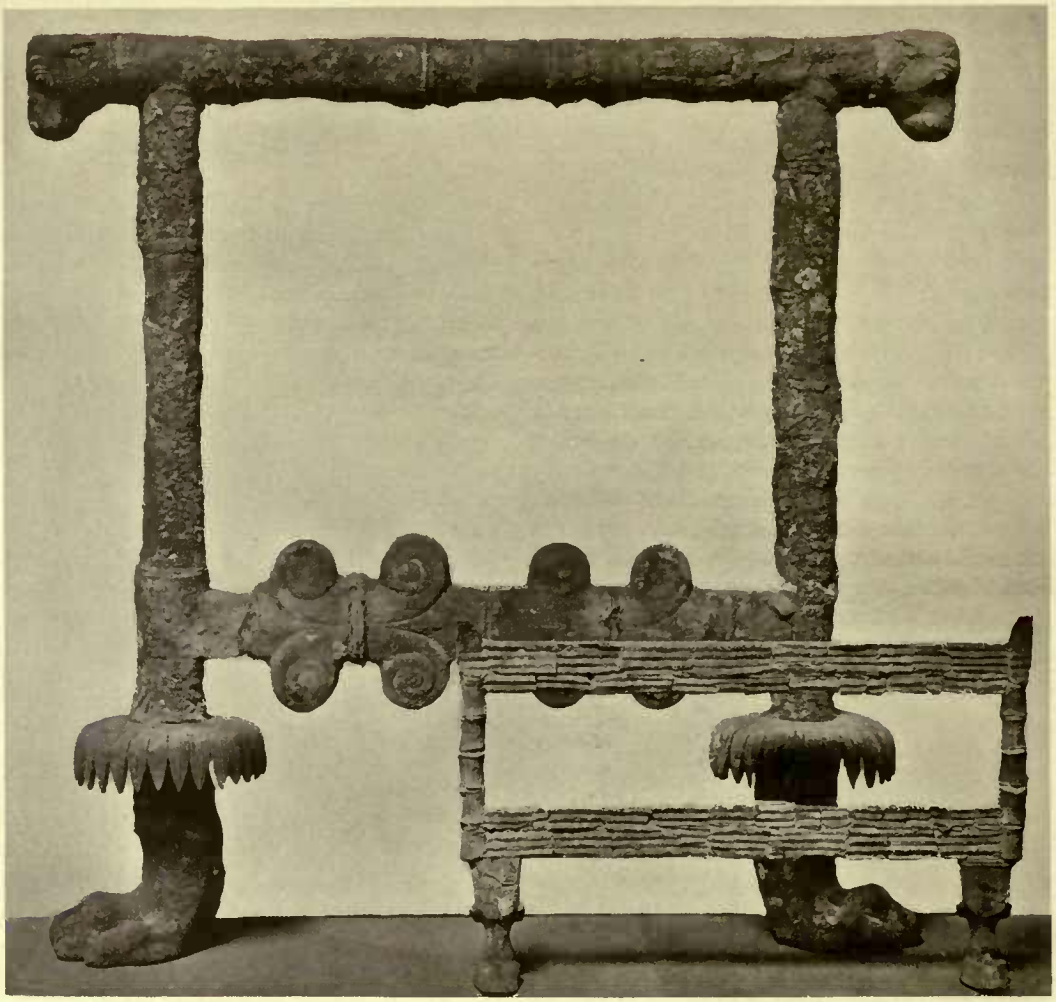
[1] In "Der altgriechische Möbelstil," 3d article, Part 4, in *Kunst und Gewerbe*, 1885, Parts 10–12, writing of chairs with the same type of legs, the author says: "Man muss gestehen, es überrascht, dass bei einem Sitzmöbel, dessen schwere Formen sonst durchweg den Eindruck des Soliden hervorrufen, gerade die Beine durch diese Einkerbung so geschwächt erscheinen; man erhält den Eindruck, als würde der schmale Steg, welche die beiden Palmetten verbindet, die Last des auf dem Stuhle Sitzenden nicht aushalten können. . . . . Sicherlich waren es nicht blos ästhetische, sondern auch technische Gründe, wenn man weiterhin da wo der Rundstab frei ausgearbeitet ist, denselben in der Mitte durch knollenartige oder kugelförmige Ansätze verstärkt hat."

[2] *Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. XXVI (1901), p. 348: "Die plumpe Schwere des Trägers wird dadurch erleichtert, dass der Handwerker am unteren Teil des Fusses zu beiden Seiten geschweifte Ausschnitte anbringt, deren Form dann durch ein Ornament, zwei aufrecht gestellte und in der Mitte verbundene Doppelvoluten, motivirt wird."

[3] Portion of an Assyrian throne found at Nineveh and now in the British Museum. This can be dated only on its resemblance to relief sculpture; consequently there is a wide latitude, as the double volute ornaments and other features of this extant piece were very common on Assyrian furniture. Upon sculptured slabs in the British Museum I noted the following pieces of furniture of a style similar to the preserved specimen: the throne of Azzurnazipal (884–860 B. C.) on relief 22 in the Nimroud Gallery; furniture and a chariot with body in chair form on three slabs of the time of Sargon II (722–705 B. C.), Nos. 21, 22, and 25 in the Assyrian Transept; the throne of Sennacherib (705–681 B. C.), Slab 28 in the Assyrian Saloon (*A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, Plate III); finally the chair of the queen in the well-known scene of Assurbanipal (668–626 B. C.) and his queen feasting in the royal garden, Slab 121 of the Assyrian Gallery (*Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*, No. XVIII, Bezold, *Nineveh und Babylon*, p. 121, Fig. 91).

The use of the double-volute motive is a striking point of similarity between this series of typical Assyrian furniture and the class of Greek furniture under discussion; further, the gap of time between the latest known examples of the one group and the earliest of the other (see p. 20) is a short one, probably not more than fifty years. These facts, in my opinion, point to a probable origin of the Greek style somewhere in Asia Minor under Assyrian influence (*cf.* p. 54, n. 5). The volute capitals were certainly a Greek addition, for some chairs of early seated figures from Branchidæ (see p. 47, n. 2) and beds on Corinthian craters (Figs. 3 and 35) do not yet have them. Whether the pattern of the legs otherwise was a seventh-century Greek arrangement of Assyrian motives, or was found in its present form in Assyrian models unknown to us, is impossible to say. *Cf.* in Koldewey, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, p. 45, the suggestion that a volute capital of the same design as that which is the regular crowning of chair and bed supports is an Æolic invention. But *cf.* finally also the discovery of *Corinthian* letters on the ivory carvings mentioned, p. 46, end of n. 3, and Professor G. Körte's theory that these carvings may have been importations to Gordion from Corinth.

and chairs are as barbarous in their way as the columns of temples would be with outlines broken at a third of their height by great volutes carved out of their thickness. Whether or not the Greeks were originally responsible for this inartistic application of the volute forms shown in Fig. 39 (see p. 73, n. 3), they at least gave



From a photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co.

FIG. 39.—Parts of an Assyrian seat and footstool.—*British Museum.*

it the indorsement of use during several centuries. It is of interest, however, to see that in the later related design represented in the frontispiece the two unpleasing features have been eliminated. Here the rail has a substantial width in keeping with that of the supports, and the ornament of the legs is in surface carvings,

leaving their outlines uninterrupted.[1] The entire design is consistent and for massive effects satisfying.[2]

About the time that in vase-painting the so-called "Fine Style," making greater use of curved lines, came into vogue, and in sculpture poses became less rigid and drapery less formal, the developed artistic spirit of the age was not unfelt in the craft of couch-making, for the best thing æsthetically which the Greeks did in the way of a design for a bed makes its first appearance somewhere near the middle of the fifth century (Fig. 44). The legs of the fifth-century examples are substantial, but not too heavy; the upper part above the frame is pleasingly contrasted with and emphasized by the curve of the two rests and their projection beyond the supporting lines of the bed. Early examples are too rare to trace developments, but it looks as if the legs of beds for a time grew more slender, keeping pace with the slender proportions in the columns of temples and in the human figure as portrayed in art; then in the Roman period, apparently, they became shorter and somewhat squat; but this theme has been developed elsewhere,[3] and I will not go into it here. The couch in the tomb at Vathia (Fig. 38) has fairly heavy proportions and legs which are distinguished by the introduction of a claw-foot at about a third of their height. There seem, indeed, to be two classes of these couches with curved rests—the first, purer and more restrained in style, with legs consisting entirely of turnings;[4] and the second, in which other motives, floral or animal, are introduced as working members among the turned parts.[5]

These couches, with excellent main lines, had a long history and continued in vogue past the Augustan period of Roman art. Then came the gradual straightening of the rests, bringing their lines into the upward direction of those of the legs, and thus producing a more monotonous structure. With the increase in the height of the end-boards and the introduction of the back the upper part of the couches became very prominent. The late Roman couches differ greatly among themselves, so far as the relative proportions of the different parts are concerned. The little sofa of Plate XXIX*a* is one of the happiest efforts. The most frequent defect is a weakness of the legs, just the reverse of the defect seen on the first type with rectangular legs, for here the supported portion is too heavy for that below (*cf.* Fig. 40). Marked characteristics are the unbroken upper line defining back and arms, and the invariableness of perpendicular legs. There are no instances among

[1] *Cf.* Plate I, where the rail is wide, but the ornament of the legs is in part cut out.

[2] The only disturbing item, in my estimation, is the height of the relief decoration on the rail.

[3] *Jahrb.*, Vol. XVII (1902), pp. 133 ff.

[4] This does not die out with the introduction of the second style. The extant bronze couches, with one exception, belong to this class.

[5] See Figs. 14, 30, 38, and 50; the "Capitoline bisellium" is also an example (for references see p. 32, n. 6); *cf.* also Plate XX, where the boy figures now on the corners of the frame probably belong on the legs of the couch.

Roman couches of the end-rests lower than the back,[1] or of the back having a higher middle part, thus breaking the horizontal line. Legs curving out at the floor level, such as are common on modern sofas, are unknown on Roman couches. It is surely not a flight of fancy to say that the Roman sofas are just the sort of thing one would expect the Romans to produce—severe and lacking in fine and beautiful lines, but practical, technically skilful, and not without some merits of design; for instance, the straightness of the legs is sounder æsthetically,

FIG. 40.—Relief from a Roman gravestone.—*Island of Paros.*

considering the weight to be borne, than the curve mentioned above as frequent in modern sofa-legs. It would be as impossible to think of the Romans making couches like the typical "Empire" sofa as to think of the Roman high-backed couch as an expression of the age and land in which the Empire style originated.

To turn our attention now to ornament, that of the couches with rectangular legs having incisions has considerable interest. The constant features are the double-volute incisions, more or less modified,[2] the palmettes placed above and

[1] Except the two settee-like couches spoken of on pp. 34, 35, one of which is pictured in Plate XXIX*b*.

[2] These incisions appear variously on works of art, often in inexact or abbreviated forms. I am convinced that the normal form is an adaptation of the motive seen in the Assyrian bronze of Fig. 39; this seems also to be Dr. Vollmöller's view, to judge by the description quoted p. 73, n. 2. A clear early example is on the legs of a chair of one of the seated figures from Branchidæ (for references see p. 47, n. 2) in the British Museum; the details of these chair-legs are inaccurately given in publications; for instance, in OVERBECK, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*[4], Vol. I, p. 101, instead of the rounded projections and the line like the end of a tenon, there should be a link or band passing around the volutes; the only feature of the Assyrian motive

below the incisions, rosettes on the upper part of the legs, and volute capitals of distinctive forms. The rails occasionally have ornament, but this is variable and without special interest, and need not be considered here.

The rosette is one of the commonest motives in ancient decorative art and is variously composed. The particular star-like form which is seen here is not especially frequent. It appears most often filling in squares left in mæander patterns, as on sarcophagi from Clazomenæ[1] and on the stuccoed sima of the temple S at Selinunte,[2] and similarly on the frieze of a temple at Metapontum.[3] It is of constant occurrence as a type on coins of Miletus.

The other ornamental motives on these couch legs are closely associated with one another. Instances occur on black-figured vases where rectangular furniture legs not represented as incised nevertheless have the full design, palmettes and the conventionalized upright volutes, painted on them. These show that the design

not plastically rendered on the chair from Branchidæ is the middle line marking the boundary between the two double volutes; this line may have been painted. The entire design including developed palmettes appears plastically rendered on the legs of the very primitive Etruscan sarcophagus representing a couch which is in the British Museum; see MURRAY, *Terracotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, Plate IX, and a detail from the foot of the sarcophagus given above in Fig. 41. On red-figured vases, where the drawing is more to be trusted than on earlier ware, a link binding the stems of the two double volutes together in the middle, precisely as in the Assyrian example, is sometimes seen (*e. g.*, *Monuments Piot*, Vol. I [1894], Plate VII). Other red-figured vase-paintings give the volutes in some detail (*e. g.*, BAUMEISTER, Vol. III, Fig. 1714 = *Élite cér.*, IV, 87). Again, a red-figured vase shows on a chair (above, Fig. 42) double volutes as nearly identical with the motive on the Assyrian bronze as is possible in the case of two objects of such different sizes. The marble reproduction of a couch in the "Tomb of the Reliefs" at Cervetri (DENNIS, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[3], Vol. I, p. 252) presents another example practically identical with the Assyrian prototype.

On the other hand, the majority of the black-figured and some of the red-figured vases do not show a link; they have in the middle between the upper and lower volutes horizontal projections, drawn either in one continuous line with the stems or as circles tangent to the stems. The first form, perhaps the original one, is illustrated in Fig. 43, where the projections are the fields for tiny palmettes. The circles (Fig. 27), in my opinion, are conventional substitutes for the more organic form, projections accommodating minor ornaments. Since these circles occur in relief sculpture as well as in vase-paintings, they were perhaps frequent on furniture, and were not simply a convention confined to representations in art of couches and chairs. Occasionally the link appears also with the circles, as in the case of Amphitrite's chair upon a cylix from the workshop of Euphronius (FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, Plate 5).

Finally, the double volutes may be seen on the legs of many chairs and beds related in design to the incised types; for instance, repeated frequently on the legs of three marble thrones in Munich (*Beschr. der Glypt.*, Nos. 327, 346, and 347 [here Fig. 47*a* and *c*]). There is a similar marble throne in the Lansdowne Collection, which has its high back preserved (MICHAELIS, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 441, No. 20). *Cf.* a tiny bronze chair in Cologne (tailpiece of chap. 4), and further remarks in regard to these late designs on p. 91, n. 1.

[1] *Monuments Piot*, Vol. IV (1897), Plates VI and VII; MURRAY, *Terracotta Sarcophagi, Greek and Etruscan, in the British Museum*, Plates I–V.

[2] PERROT and CHIPIEZ, Vol. VII, *La Grèce de l'épopée. La Grèce archaïque* (*le temple*), p. 587, Fig. 260.

[3] PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *ibid.*, Plate IX.

was present in the artist's mind as a whole;[1] for the volutes were represented even when perhaps not thought of as cut out.[2] The upper half of the main design contains the same elements as those in the capital above, only that on the lower part of the legs the palmette is emphasized and the volutes are conventionalized, and on the capitals the volutes are large and the palmette small. A pattern taken from a Melian vase-painting, and antedating therefore the earliest known instances of these couch legs (although perhaps not earlier than the origin of the type), affords an interesting analogy (tailpiece, chap. 5). The only fundamental difference is that the volutes lie in a horizontal position and are linked together vertically. There are other variations in the size and position of the different parts, but substantially the same elements are present as in the design of the couch legs, and the whole is likewise a complete pattern of rectangular plan. After the introduction of the "orientalizing" style into Greek industrial art, vases, bronzes, and other productions teem with a great variety of combinations of scrolls and palmettes, the scrolls often assuming the form of volutes. These patterns tend later to become simpler. With the elimination of stop-gaps, ornamental designs of the sort on the Melian vases and on these couch legs are rarer. Instead, a much larger proportion of the patterns in use are in borders, either continuous, or consisting of one or more small designs juxtaposed.[3]

FIG. 41.—View of one end of an Etruscan terra-cotta sarcophagus.—*British Museum.*

FIG. 42.—Figure of Hera enthroned. Detail from a red-figured vase-painting.—*Karlsruhe.*

It has already been pointed out[4] that the volute capitals on beds and chairs are

[1] *Cf.* the early Etruscan example given in Fig. 41.

[2] See on this point p. 45, n. 1.

[3] The influence of the border arrangement is felt in many terminal ornaments, as, for instance, in the case of some grave stelæ (see P. GARDNER, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 120, Fig. 42), where the sidewise direction of the unrolling stems of the volutes (which are cut off without finish by the limits of the slab) is to be rationally explained only on the ground that the pattern is a section from a continuous design running horizontally. *Cf.* also *Olympia*, FURTWÄNGLER, Vol. IV, *Die Bronzen*, Plate XLIII, Nos. 762–64, where, as also in the instance mentioned above, the design seems to be taken from the border of alternating palmettes and lotuses.

[4] PUCHSTEIN, *Das ionische Capitell*, p. 56.

From a photograph by Romualdo Moscioni.

FIG. 43.—Etruscan terra-cotta sarcophagus.—*Museo di Papa Giulio, Rome.*

not of the type known as Ionic. The two commonest forms on furniture are shown in Plate I and Fig. 43.[1] Both are in their prominent lines, exclusive of the abacus, the *halves of two double volutes* lying adjacent and connected or not connected by a link, whereas the main lines of the Ionic capital of architecture are of *one double volute*. In Plate I is shown the form which is the more frequent of the two just mentioned; here the volutes are to be thought of as continued vertically, being parts of a design similar to that on the lower part of the legs of the couches. In Fig. 43, on the contrary, the volutes are to be continued in imagination horizontally and are really excerpts from border patterns similar in principle to those mentioned in n. 3 on p. 78; a link in the last case binds the two single volutes together. Both these forms seen on furniture occur also in a few instances as capitals of columns—the first in a capital from a building at ancient Neandreia,[2] and again in one found on the island of Lesbos;[3] the second in a capital from the Acropolis at Athens,[4] one which surmounted originally the columnar pedestal of a votive offering. There is a third form of volute capital which is unlike the normal Ionic styles. This is also known in architecture, all the architectural examples coming, so far as I am aware, from Cyprus.[5] From the field of industrial art some small ivory reliefs[6] showing the same capital, which were found at Nineveh and are supposed to be of Phœnician workmanship, may be mentioned. The distinctive feature of this third type is a triangle with side on the base line of the capital and point extending up into the design. The stems of the volutes disappear behind the point of the triangle, but usually in such directions that they could not possibly converge in the manner of the volutes of the capital from Neandreia and its analogues on furniture; I can see, therefore, no connection between these two types.[7] In many of the Phœnician

[1] A few other forms occur sporadically. For example, in Fig. 4 the volutes are inverted; in other words, correspond to the lower half of two vertically lying double volutes. An instance on a chair pictured in an Attic vase-painting (FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, Plate 20) seems to approximate to the form of the Ionic capital. Again, the development of the palmette varies in different capitals; it is sometimes even omitted altogether. The beds from tombs at Eretria, on the island of Eubœa, and at Pydna in Macedonia (see p. 28 and Fig. 12) have the addition of tendrils curling into the upper corners from the lower part of the palmettes, and some late vases show similar tendrils.

[2] CLARKE, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, Vol. II (1886), pp. 1 ff.

[3] KOLDEWEY, *Die antiken Baureste der Insel Lesbos*, p. 45, Plate 16.

[4] *Ant. Denkm.*, I, Plate XVIII, 3.

[5] PERROT and CHIPIEZ, Vol. VII, *Phénicie, Cypre*, p. 116, Figs. 51–53; one of these, which are all in the Louvre, is repeated in the *Am. Journ. Arch.*, Vol. II (1886), p. 15, Fig. 7. I have noted also in Vienna and Berlin examples which are not, so far as I am aware, published. These Professor Michaelis (SPRINGER, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, I, "Das Altertum⁷," p. 69) thinks are distinctly Cypriote as distinguished from Phœnician, but the ivories found at Nineveh (see main text above, following sentence) are testimony that the motives appear in the form of capitals elsewhere than on the island of Cyprus.

[6] CLARKE, *Am. Journ. Arch.*, Vol. II (1886), p. 10, Fig. 3.

[7] Mr. CLARKE'S words (*op. cit.*, pp. 11, 12) are: "They are essentially the same as the early Greek

capitals, further, the volutes seem to be formed really of a curved band, doubling back of the stem of the volutes and often reappearing above the triangle, thus being part of an interlaced pattern, which, if imagined continued below the base line of the capital as above it, would be continuous and unbroken. On the other hand, the two types on furniture, as has been stated, may be reduced to somewhat simpler ground forms, the halves of two double volutes juxtaposed vertically or laterally. Some of the Phœnician capitals have the ornament above the volutes, corresponding to the palmettes, much more elaborated than anything known on the two other types of capitals. The Phœnician capital, oddly enough, does not appear on Greek furniture at all; apparently it did not find favor in Greece.[1]

It is remarkable how many of the Greek ornamental patterns antedating the introduction of the acanthus may be reduced to just the few elements present on these furniture legs; viz., (1) double volutes with their stems variously connected, (2) palmettes, and (3) links or bands fastening together certain parts of the design which do not run into one another. By varying the relative size and position of these details an infinite variety of patterns was obtained.[2] Such designs as run dead into a base line are clearly, it seems to me, halves of complete patterns. The most important motive in use at the time of the development of these couches, and not represented on them, is the lotus.

The earliest examples of the bed with curved rests (Figs. 11, 44, and 38) are without distinctive ornament. The extremities of the uprights of the rests run into volutes. The bed of the "Aldobrandini Wedding" seems to have a head-rest with unornamented upright curling over above into a volute, which fact fits well into the theory that the painting is a copy of a Greek original, dating back perhaps as far as the time of Alexander.[3] All representations of these couches of later origin than the fourth century, when they show the rests distinctly, have

capital of Mount Chigri [=Neandreia], from which they differ only in the imperfect spiral of the volute, and in the triangle masking the convergent lines at the base." See n. 1 on this page.

[1] The various architectural capitals mentioned above seem to have been derived from the scroll motives with which artistic expression was permeated in the seventh century. They represent various experiments in the application to higher art of forms which were common property, already long in use in the field of industrial production. The fine artistic instincts of the Greek architects led them to develop the style of capital of which the double volute lying horizontally is the basal motive, rather than any one of the other types of capitals; for these last require the eye to complete the design, or at least leave a feeling of dissatisfaction at the abrupt cutting off of the stems of the volutes before they arrive anywhere. The style of the beds with incised legs, on the other hand, does not represent the best results of which Greek artistic selection was capable. Nevertheless, even on furniture the Phœnician type of capital was avoided by the Greeks.

[2] See the piece of bronze appliqué (tailpiece of chap. 2) in the Antiquarium of the Royal Museums at Berlin, and various examples given *Olympia*, FURTWÄNGLER, Vol. IV, *Die Bronzen*, Plates VII, No. 84, XLII, XLIII, and L.

[3] ROBERT, in *Hermes*, Vol. XXXV (1900), p. 661.

an animal's head at the upper corner and a medallion ornament at the lower (*cf.* Figs. 14 and 50). The number of such monuments is small,[1] but we are nevertheless better off for the study of this type of couch than of any other of classical antiquity, by reason of the two extensive series of extant specimens; the more important series is of bronze, the second is of beds veneered with bone and illustrates provincial work. The earliest extant bronze upright, the one from southern Russia, ends both above and below in a medallion with bust in relief, and it is not improb-

FIG. 44.—Dionysus and Ariadne riding a mule. Red-figured vase-painting.—*St. Petersburg.*

able that a medallion, fitting as it does into the curves of a volute, was the first step in elaborating the original design. Perhaps the date of the introduction of the motive of an animal's head looking sideways was between the date of the St. Petersburg couch and the beginning of the second century, from which time there is a specimen from Priene, adorned with a horse's head. Whatever the exact time of its introduction, it was an artistic improvement, for the rests are thus varied and their lines rendered more rhythmic. The sidewise direction of the curve of the rests is continued in the animal's neck, and the desirable emphasis of the front of the couch is provided by the turning of the face to view. Part of a human figure was sometimes substituted for the animal's head, as in the case of a Pompeian

[1] The numerous small terra-cotta couches are not clear enough to be decisive.

couch,[1] but it is not as fortunate a choice and seems to have been exceptional. The human body does not accommodate itself as comfortably and with the same appearance of naturalness to the curve of the rests as the more usual animal's head and neck. With the neck, however, a great liberty is taken in that it is made narrow below, to follow the curve of the rests. No horse's or mule's shoulders are as narrow as they are represented in these bronzes (see Plates XI, XII, and XVI); yet this part is often otherwise realistically rendered with collar and panther's skin. The motive is a spirited one, and in the case of the horses' and mules' heads often enhanced by an open mouth.[2] Aquatic birds are frequently represented,[3] and are particularly adaptable to the purpose. They apparently occupied the inferior positions at the back of the couch.[4] The upper corner ornaments of other rests, those probably on the front of the couches, are the heads of various animals—panthers[5] and lions[6] (Fig. 50), for instance—but with especial frequency the horses and mules. In literature we hear of asses' heads,[7] but none exist among ancient bronzes, so far as I can learn.[8]

[1] Sommer, photograph No. 11,120 = MAU-KELSEY, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*[2], p. 367, Fig. 188.

[2] Professor Furtwängler explains this frequent characteristic of horses in ancient art on the ground that they wore very uncomfortable bits (FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, p. 99).

[3] Swans on the Pompeian "bisellia" now in Naples (*Herculanum und Pompeii, Bronzen*, 3d Series, Plate 89 = *Real museo borbonico*, Vol. II, Plate XXXI, 3), and much more commonly ducks; *cf.* Plates X and XV*a*; *cf.* also the analogous motive on bone carvings representing the heads of mergansers or sawbills (GRAEVEN, pp. 51, 52, and Phot. 31).

[4] The reason for thinking this is that in the case of a number of bronze attachments consisting of both animals' heads and birds' heads, to be distributed on one couch or on the couches of one triclinium, the animals' heads are always the more elaborate and richly inlaid, and would seem therefore to belong on the front of the couches. *Cf.* MAU, *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1896, p. 78.

[5] BRIZIO, p. 445, Fig. 8; p. 446, Fig. 9; and p. 450, Fig. 17.

[6] SVORONOS-BARTH, *Das Athener National-Museum*, Plate IX, 3.

[7] JUV., XI, 96; HYG., *Fab*, 274, is no doubt correctly emended to read *capita asellorum*.

[8] There seems to be some confusion on this point, which is not without interest, considering the ancient evidence for asses' heads (n. 7). Dr. Graeven writes: "Bronzene *fulcra* mit Pferde- beziehungsweise Maultier-oder Eselbüsten sind nicht eben selten" (GRAEVEN, p. 85); and Professor ANDERSON, describing some of the British Museum bronzes, which are among those published here (Plates VIII–XIV), says: "They all represent the head and shoulders of a mule or ass, turning sideways and backwards, with ears put down and a vicious expression, which is rendered in a peculiarly natural manner" (*Classical Review*, Vol. III [1889], p. 322). It is not clear whether these writers mean that all the heads are alike, and they are uncertain whether mules or asses are intended, or that the bronzes differ, and some of them represent mules' heads and others asses' heads. It seems probable that the mule and ass were distinguished in ancient art; the domestic ass has in general longer ears, a head shorter and thicker above the eyes for its length, and of greater size in proportion to the body, than the mule. In all of the bronzes in question which I have examined the conformation of the heads appears to be that of mules. *Cf.* the asses (?) on a sarcophagus relief published in the *Arch. Zeit.*, 1864, Plate CLXXXVI, 1, and the mules on a sixth-century Greek bronze relief (SCHUMACHER, p. 47, No. 268, Plate VI, 1), on an Attic crater (FURTWÄNGLER-REICHHOLD, Plate 7), and here Fig. 44.

The horses' and mules' heads are rendered with considerable fidelity. They differ in artistic value, some being very poor, others good. It is hoped that the possibility afforded in the plates of comparing a large number of these bronzes will be welcome, even though in general the illustrations fail to do the bronzes justice. It is difficult to get favorable photographs of heads in such positions as these; the ears, for example, do not look as unnatural on the bronzes themselves as in some of the illustrations. In Plate XIV it is clear how successfully the horses' and mules' heads are differentiated. In (*a*) and (*c*) of this plate, not only the patent distinction in the length of the ears, but the narrower, somewhat shorter, and more pointed formation of the mule's head below the eyes, is evident. In (*c*) of the same plate the different shape of the muzzle of the mule is plain; it has a more rounded gradual curve, more drooping lower lip, and less sensitive nostrils than that of the horse (*cf. d*). The roached mane characteristic of mules is also well rendered. These mules are, however, somewhat idealized; in most cases they give the impression of being nobler animals than mules. None of them show such marked contrast to the horse, as, for instance, the mules' heads on the attachment of a vase handle in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1] The idealization is aided by the laying back of the ears; it would have been fatal to artistic effects to represent them erect! The "vicious expression" to which Professor Anderson calls attention (p. 83, n. 8) is marked in a large number of these heads; in Plate VIII, for instance, the mule at the right seems to be drawing down his upper lip—a token of irritation like the extreme laying back of the ears. Other heads, however, are amiable as (*d*) in Plate XIV, which is one of the best of the horses' heads; in (*a*) of Plate XIV and (*b*) of Plate XI the expression is a distinctly startled one. Professor Anderson writes further of the British Museum bronzes: "The head is in almost every case decorated with a garland of vine leaves entwined with tendrils and bunches of grapes, while the shoulders are covered with a curious leather collar, the top of which is turned down just where it joins the shaggy skin of some wild animal, which is thrown over it. This collar seems to be almost unique in its kind, and well deserves investigation, for it is evidently borrowed from actual life and is of a fixed type in all these bronzes." Professor Anderson is in error in one point: the wreath is ivy, not grape. In Plate XIII it is very evident that ivy berries, not grapes, are reproduced.[2] It is of interest that the ivy adornment does not occur on horses' heads. One of the Pompeian "bisellia" (the low one) has mules'

[1] *Cat. des bronzes ant. de la Bibl. nat.*, p. 585, No. 1455.

[2] *Cf.* in *Monuments Piot*, Vol. IV (1897), Plate X, the case of ivy twined about the body of a bronze panther. Two branches tied on the breast terminate in clusters of berries in artistic portrayal identical with the berries on the bronze mules' heads. *Cf.* also here the ivy on the head of the mænad in Plate XVI.

heads, which at present at least have no ivy branches; the same may be said of the "bisellium" in the British Museum (Plate VIII). But the absence of ivy in the case of mules is exceptional. In the illustrations given here, Plates XIII, XIV*a c*, XV*b*, probably also *d*, and XVII, all represent heads of one type. The mæander on the collar, the shape of collar and tassel, and the two clusters of ivy berries on the forehead, one close to each eye, are similar in all these heads. That no two, much less all of them, are from the same mold, although they might well be from the same factory, is evident from differences in size, and other variations such as the angle at which the head is turned. Plate XIV*b* represents another type; the collar is of different form and has ivy ornamentation instead of a mæander; the ivy on the head is without berries and is differently arranged, with a curled stem hanging down the middle of the face. Unfortunately, I cannot throw any light on the peculiar collar to which Professor Anderson calls attention; so far as I am aware, it occurs only on these bronze attachments of beds. If one could get hold of any considerable number of other representations of mules, contemporary with the extant ornaments of *fulcra*, the collar might be found to be peculiar to mules. It probably was not worn by horses, or it would occur on some of the numerous representations of horses in late Greek or Roman art. The skin fastened about the shoulders of mules in addition to the collar, and separately about many horses' shoulders (see Plates XI*b*, XII*a*, XIV*d*, and XVI), was probably an article of fairly common use; it extended also over the back of the animal, thus adding to the rider's comfort. This skin is present on the earliest of the bronze couch ornaments representing a horse's head and shoulders—the one found at Priene—which takes its use back to the beginning of the second century B. C.,[1] and it is an occasional equipment of the riding-horse of Roman date.[2]

It is a question whether there is any particular appropriateness in these heads, or whether they were chosen merely because their decorative effect was good. I shall be able to show presently that the other ornament on the early Roman beds has nothing about it which is exceptional for the period, or necessarily significant. If only the heads of horses and of aquatic birds were used in the terminal ornaments, I should reject all theory of significance. Ducks' heads are frequent in

[1] A gold medallion from Tarsus of the time of the emperor Commodus has on the reverse Alexander hunting a lion; in this the horse wears a skin. (MORGAN, *Xenophon on Horsemanship*, p. 33, tailpiece = KÖPP, *Über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 3.) However, it is impossible to say whether the skin was a contribution of the time of Commodus to the type, or a faithful rendering from earlier originals of a feature of the trappings of Alexander's horse. None of the other so-called equestrian portraits of Alexander show it.

[2] On a relief in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome, from a monument of Marcus Aurelius (HELBIG, *Führer*[2], Vol. I, p. 377, No. 559), and on another relief of Trajanic date now upon the Arch of Constantine (Anderson, photograph No. 2546).

metal-work, notably as side attachments to the handles of vessels where they join the rim, and horses' heads have occasional use as handles of knives[1] or of lamps.[2] But the choice of a mule for the most prominent position in the ornament requires some explanation; the wreath with which his head, unlike the horse's head, is always adorned suggests that the mule had a peculiar significance. Both the ivy and the mule are associated with Dionysus; Dionysus and his attendants, the satyrs, are occasionally portrayed in ancient art riding mules[3] (*cf.* Fig. 44). That the artists should intentionally introduce a reminder of the god of wine in the decoration of banquet couches is not improbable. The horses' heads have no such significance, and it is accordingly not strange to find a preponderance of mules' heads among these bronzes. The ducks' heads are also meaningless, but they were needed in equal numbers to balance at the back the more elaborate decoration of the front.

FIG. 45.—Terra-cotta handle (?).—*Kestner Museum, Hanover.*

Dr. Graéven calls attention, apropos of an analogy in bone carvings, to the curved transition wrought in relief between the lower ends of the terminal ornaments and the middle of the rests.[4] This is in all probability a leaf,[5] one of the circlet from which the animal's neck is conceived as emerging (*cf.* the terra-cotta of Fig. 45). It would be strange indeed if on such extensively decorated couches as these that which is perhaps the most marked peculiarity of Roman ornament, a combination into one motive of both plant and animal forms, were wholly lacking.

[1] An instance is cited in the *Cat. des bronzes ant. de la Bibl. nat.*, p. 477, No. 1151.

[2] FRIEDRICHS, *Kleinere Kunst und Industrie im Altertum*, p. 183, No. 723. Unpublished detached handles, of which many were probably fastened to lamps, exist in various museums. The same use has been suggested as possible for the terra-cotta from the Kestner Museum in Hanover, given in Fig. 45. See p. 84, n. 2, and p. 107, n. 5, of the work there cited.

[3] ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Vol. I, col. 1095.

[4] GRAEVEN, p. 51. The passage is as follows: "Der bronzene Entenhals geht unten in einen Bügel aus, mit dem das Zierstück gleichsam aufgeschoben ist auf die Holzunterlage. Bei allen Bronzezierraten, die den gleichen Zweck wie der Entenkopf gehabt haben, kehrt der Bügel wieder, doch bildet er nicht immer einen einfachen Bogen, oft ist er in der Mitte geknickt."

[5] It has the same general shape, broad and rounded, and with the edge curled over in the middle, as that which occurs frequently in silver work and in sculpture, and seems often arbitrarily combined to make blossoms. *Cf.* the four-petaled open blossoms on the pilaster from the tomb of the Haterii (WICKHOFF-STRONG, *Roman Art*, Plate VIII) and the leaves rising from the lower part of some silver vessels (*Monuments Piot*, Vol. V [1899], Plate IX, and PERNICE and WINTER, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, Plate VI).

This combination takes place in two ways: either there is an apparent organic union of the vegetable and the animal or human forms, or, as here, the *protome* of the latter issues from a leafy calyx. The first combination is perhaps the older;[1] at least, the bronze rest from Priene affords the earliest instance known to me of the second, which in the years immediately following Christ's birth runs rampant. The facts that the bed with curved rests may be traced back into the fifth century B. C., and that the two prominent motives of Roman ornament mentioned may be seen on pre-Roman monuments, are significant indications that the roots of Roman art lie in an earlier period.

The entire ornament of the one ancient upright of the head-rest on the couch in St. Petersburg is cast in one piece and is in relief. This style of couch in its final development, however, had plastic adornment at the two extremities of the uprights of the rests, but an inlaid pattern on the curved part between. The corners of the couch frame were ornamented with strips of bronze inlaid with various patterns, and this decoration was even extended in some cases to the legs. The ornaments forming the upper corner termini of the rests have been fully discussed in the preceding pages. At the lower corners were always medallions, usually a bust with considerable projection, but sometimes a head or other design in low relief (see Plates X and XI). Heads of satyrs, of mænads, and of Eros are favorite motives, and have numerous parallels in the art of sculpture; these from beds often show considerable artistic merit (see Fig. 49 and Plate IX). Animals' heads occur in this position also, but less frequently than the human heads; a pleasing example is afforded by one of the Anticythera bronzes, the head of a dog of shaggy type, with one ear pricked up and the other lopping down.[2] The satyrs' and mænads' heads occurring in connection with the heads of mules strengthen the theory of a reference to Dionysus. But taken alone one would not attach any special significance to them, for they belong to the popular motives of an age fond of episodes of love and revelry, and of light and playful themes. The inlaid work on these uprights is usually of floral patterns, such as two branches of myrtle starting from the corners and having their tips crossed in the center (illustrated on the "bisellium" in the British Museum, Plate IX).[3] But the "Capitoline bisellium"

[1] For instance, a caryatid, whose drapery runs out in foliage, and whose legs merge into scroll-work, occurs on a number of architectural capitals. Examples are: a very much shattered capital in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin, which, so far as I know, is unpublished; another from Miletus in the Louvre (Giraudon, photographs Nos. 1085 and 2035); a third from Salamis (Cyprus) now in the British Museum (A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 264, No. 1510, and Plate XXVII). Mr. Smith cites examples of this motive dating back to the beginning of the fourth century B. C.

[2] Svoronos-Barth, *Das Athener National-Museum*, Plate IX, 1. Also very poorly given in Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, 1902, col. 164, Fig. 13.

[3] On a silver vessel (*Monuments Piot*, Vol. V [1899], Plate I) having in its center a medallion personifying the city of Alexandria, there is a border

shows a more ambitious design—a vintage scene. The legs when inlaid have wreaths of myrtle or other plants around the most prominent part of some of the turnings, and similar branches on the lowest member,[1] that which covers the ends of the braces at the floor-level.

Fig. 46 gives a selection of designs from the rails of couches. These designs are made up of small elements repeated many times in a single stretch of ornament. Unique, so far as I am aware, but entirely in the spirit of Roman art, is the pattern shown in Plate XIX. This is also from a rail, but is more akin to the floral decoration of the middle section of some of the uprights than to the designs of Fig. 46. It has an approximate, but not rigid, symmetry; as can be discovered on close inspection, no two of the nearly equal-sized divisions marked off above and below the intertwined stems by the larger grape leaves are exactly alike.

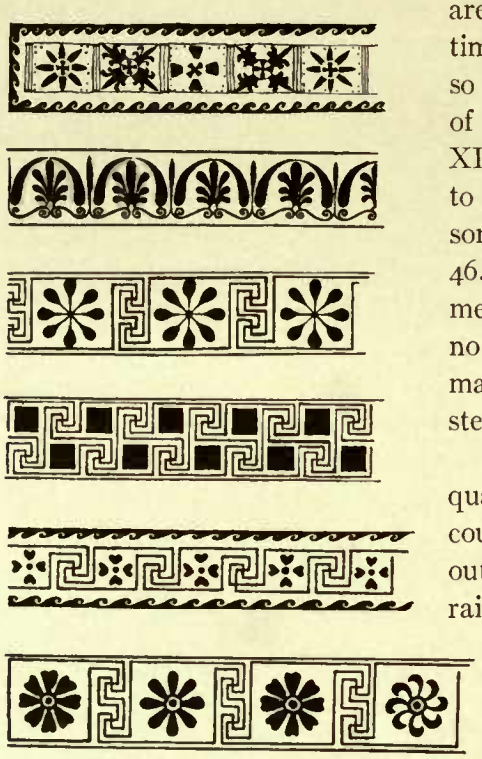


Fig. 46.—Patterns from the rails of couches.

The material at our disposal is not adequate to a study of the ornament of late Roman couches. But I cannot close this chapter without returning for a moment to the questions raised in the introductory paragraph. I have not attempted in this discussion of style any comparison with the furniture of other countries and periods. Nevertheless, I think it may be safely said that the couches which have been considered do not exhibit striking merits, warranting us to claim for them an exalted position in a history of furniture. They do not show that marked superiority which is undeniable in

lightly incised immediately below the rim; this border consists of four branches arranged in twos, with stems tied together by ribbons and with tips meeting. The general arrangement of the branches and one of the two highly conventionalized plants represented are closely like the corresponding features of the motive in question on the couches. It is interesting to see the motive, with this difference that the branches are naturalistically treated instead of being conventionalized, on another of the silver vessels from Boscoreale (Plate XVII of the work cited at the beginning of this note). Here two olive branches form the decoration of a cup; the branches start in the middle of one side, and their tips meet, barely touching, in the middle of the other side. The conventionalized wreath has a pre-Roman history; it is common, for instance, about the rims of late red-figured vases. Perhaps the naturalistic treatment of such wreaths is distinctly Roman. *Cf.* Wickhoff-Strong, *Roman Art*, pp. 34 and 56.

[1] On the bed from Boscoreale olive branches adorn the lowest members of the legs (*Jahrb.*, Vol. XV [1900], *Anz.*, p. 179).

contemporary vases, at least in those of the best Greek period. Vases of the sixth and fifth centuries are marvelous in their beautiful lines and effective contrasts of dark and light. But at the very period during which these vases were produced the couches with the disagreeably incised legs were in vogue.

The study of Greek couches then teaches that Greek artistic taste in the industrial field was far from infallible. Nevertheless, it does not seriously challenge our traditional faith in the presence in the Greek people of a deeply rooted, all-pervading artistic sense. If we have found some features of design far from commendable, we have yet been impressed by the extent, in the Greek period, of the influence upon furniture of other arts. In the decoration of the earlier beds—those with rectangular, incised legs—the relations are more particularly to other industrial products; all these—tripods, household utensils, in short, the common articles of every-day use—abound in more or less beautiful artistic motives. Beginning in the fourth century, the application also of the higher art of sculpture in couch designs is noticeable. The reliefs ornamenting the upper ends of the supports of the couch represented in the frontispiece (see also Plate III), for instance, might have been inspired by the frieze in the temple of Phigaleia, so closely do they resemble in style the figures of that series of sculptured slabs. It has been pointed out that medallions such as the satyrs' heads of Plate IX and Fig. 49 are probably derived from greater works of sculpture.[1]

The survival long into the Roman period of couches having sculptured ornament is probably due to the interest fashionable among the Romans in Greek products. Probably the manufacture of couches remained for a long time in the hands of Greek artisans.[2]

The ornamental details of late Roman couches are less well known to us. But this much is clear: late couches were plainer in design than earlier ones, although probably often no less rich in materials (see p. 55). They represent the utilitarian and practical spirit of the Romans, and have accordingly in design more in common with present-day furniture. The critic who approves of severity and simplicity in articles for common use will admire perchance the Roman couch with the conventionalized dolphins on the rests (*e. g.*, Fig. 31), rather than the late Greek type which has more flowing lines and many decorative details, each detail in itself being often a charming work of art.

[1] *Cf.* pp. 87 and 99.

[2] *Cf.* p. 61, n. 4.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATTER

SECTION I

DISCUSSION OF PLATES

Frontispiece FRONTISPIECE.—See under Plate III.

Plate I PLATE I.[1]—Etruscan terra-cotta cinerary urn, representing a couch. In the British Museum in Case 74 of the Etruscan Saloon. Found in Cervetri. Entire length, 59½ cm.; height to the highest point of the cover, 34 cm. *B. M. Terracottas*, B 629. Described or referred to here on pp. 16 (n. 3), 26, 45, 47, 75 (n. 1), and 80.

The cover is in the form of a recumbent person with head and feet exposed; long curls hang down over the drapery, which envelops the rest of the figure. The supports have three parts—the capitals, the legs proper, and bases of curved profile which probably represent the ends of braces running through to the other side of the couch. The tenons show prominently (*cf.* pp. 42, 43).

There is a similar urn pictured by Heuzey in *Recherches sur les lits antiques*, p. 18, probably one of those in the Louvre. Three specimens also found at ancient Cære and belonging to the Campana Collection are exhibited in the Louvre. Of these, two seem exactly alike; in the third the reclining figure is somewhat smaller. But the reliefs in the example published here and in the three just mentioned are alike and may well be from the same mold. These all date perhaps from the close of the sixth century.

Plate II PLATE II.—Working drawing for a bed with rectangular, incised legs. Based on the vase-painting reproduced in Fig. 27. See pp. 45, 46.

Plate III and Frontispiece PLATE III AND FRONTISPIECE.—Terra-cotta in the Louvre.[2] Found in a tomb at Tanagra. Length, 28 cm.; height to level of seat, 12 cm.; to top of pillow, 17.2 cm.; width of pillars, 2.5 cm. Pictured and briefly described, Girard, Fig. 4385, p. 1017. Described or referred to here, pp. 28, 46, 47, 68, 74, 75, and 89.

[1] This, Plates VIII–XIV inclusive, (*c*) and (*d*) of Plate XV, (*b*) of Plate XXIX, and Fig. 49, are from photographs taken for me in the British Museum. The permission to use the material I owe to the kindness of the late keeper of classical antiquities, Dr. A. S. Murray. This permission the present keeper, Dr. Cecil Smith, has been so good as to confirm.

[2] I have to thank Monsieur E. Pottier, assistant curator of the Louvre, for bringing this terra-cotta to my attention and for permitting me to publish it.

The pillars are plank constructions and show in their ornament reminiscences of the incised type of leg.[1]

The couch is alike at the two ends (ἀμφικέφαλος). The reliefs which surmount the legs are no doubt ornate substitutes for the usual volutes of the rectangular, incised type (*cf.* for general form the frontispiece with the headpiece of chap. 1). The figures in low

a *b* *c* *d*

FIG. 47.—Various types of chair and couch supports.

[1] The relation to the incised type is at first sight more obvious in some other rectangular furniture legs reproduced above in Fig. 47 side by side with a view of a leg of the Louvre terra-cotta. The old design survives with greatest fulness in (*a*). Incisions, palmettes, and double volutes are all present, although their forms have been somewhat modified and a few new elements have been introduced. The two double volutes of the incisions run out above and below into other volutes of S-shape; the central volutes are ugly, the projections in the middle being greatly exaggerated. The addition of the S-shaped volutes results in a loss of the straightness of outline above and below the incisions which was characteristic of the older type. The rosettes at the top may possibly correspond to the star on the normal type, but the rosettes in the middle and at the bottom are additions. The medallion with head also occurs on other late examples, but never earlier (*cf.* the instance in a vase-painting mentioned, p. 28, n. 3).

In (*b*) the disintegration of the design characteristic of the rectangular, incised legs is farther advanced. Here the ornament no longer forms a single, unified pattern, the various elements of which pass into one another without interruption; rather, it is broken up by horizontal lines into three parts. In the central part there is a survival of the incised, double volutes. S-shaped volutes appear above and below, but not as in (*a*) growing out of the central volutes. The two palmettes are present, but are likewise disconnected from one another and from the remainder of the design.

In (*c*) there is the triple division of the leg horizontally as in (*b*), without, however, a reminder in the middle division of volute incisions. On the contrary, double volutes without projections or horizontal links (see p. 76, n. 2, second paragraph) edge the upper and lower divisions. The scheme of ornament in (*c*) is really a combination of two derivatives of the rectangular, incised type. These derivatives are represented (1) in (*b*), which (*c*) resembles in the triple horizontal division, and (2) in the tailpiece of chap. 4, which (*c*) is like in the repetition of the double volutes. On the chair shown in the tailpiece mentioned the double volutes

relief are here purely ornamental, without subject significance.[1] They are remarkably beautiful for work on such a small scale and in such rude material; unfortunately the illustrations fail to do them justice, either artistically or in bringing out details. The relief at the left end of the couch (Plate III*a*) represents a woman moving rapidly to the right. She wears an ungirded Doric chiton which has an overfold reaching below the waist. The chiton has become loosened on the right shoulder and has slipped down, exposing her right breast. She holds in each hand a corner of a mantle which falls from her head and forms a background for her figure. The head is seen in profile, looking down and backward. Her hair is waved over her forehead and is adorned with a fillet. The other relief (Plate III*b*) represents a youth moving to the left. He is nude except for a chlamys which is fastened by a round brooch under his chin and floats out behind. His form is lithe and energetic, although of stalwart proportions. His hair is effectively rendered as if blown back by the wind. These two reliefs were formed separately and then attached to the terra-cotta.

The interest and charm of the terra-cotta are greatly increased by the remains of color upon it (frontispiece). Red has been the most enduring color. It filled in the volutes carved on the pillars. The background of the reliefs on the rail and of the figures surmounting the pillars was solidly red. Zigzags and rows of circles on the rail, mæanders (not visible in the illustration), and stripes on pillows and seating were also red. Other bits of this vivid color may be seen on the tails of the dolphins and the lips of the masks adorning the rail. Considerable blue is still clear in the furnishings of the couch, mæanders, dots set in rows, wave patterns, and stripes, all in blue, being included in the designs of these richly colored stuffs. There are traces of gilding visible on the hair of the mask to the right, and of white in various places on the terra-cotta; undoubtedly the little couch originally had much more gilding and more white color.

The terra-cotta must be thought of as representing a structure with an interlacing, which may well have been fastened in the same manner as the interwoven leather strands reproduced in the marble fragment from Pergamon (Plate V and p. 65, Fig. 34); the interlaced surface was thus at a slightly lower level than the top of the rails. A long and narrow tapestry, admirably rendered in the terra-cotta, fitted exactly in width and thickness the space inclosed by the side-rails and the interlacing, thus making the whole surface of the

have not lost the original form seen in the Assyrian prototype (Fig. 39). Each of the two larger divisions of (*c*) contains further an adaptation of the traditional arrangement of palmettes.

Finally in (*d*) the departure from the incised type is very great. All feeling for the cut-out, double volutes is lost. Toward the top is represented a winged creature with single head and two bodies, which is unique as a motive on the legs of couches. Nevertheless the horizontal divisions connecting (*d*) with the designs in (*b*) and (*c*), the S-shaped volutes establishing a relation to (*a*) and (*b*), and the plank-like appearance of the legs prove that (*d*) also is a derivative from the rectangular, incised type.

[1] Probably they are excerpts from some composition, representing a definite scene, which was within the repertory of the designer of the terra-cotta. But scenes in which appear fleeing or pursuing women and youths are too numerous to permit us to name the particular one to which we owe these reliefs.

couch even, as it appears in the frontispiece, and contributing to the comfort of the occupants. This covering was drawn up over the end-boards and fell half-way to the floor, with corners hanging still lower. The cushions were also covered with a richly colored, striped material, and were furnished with tassels at each corner.

The couch is to be dated chiefly on grounds of style and belongs in all probability somewhere between the close of the fifth and the close of the fourth century B. C. I am inclined to place it in the third quarter of the fourth century B. C.[1]

PLATES IV–VI.—Two fragments of a marble couch.[2] Found in the Library attached to the precinct of Athena Polias at Pergamon, and therefore probably dating from the reign of the builder of the Library, Eumenes II. (197–159 B. C.). Now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. One piece, represented in two views in Plates IV and V, is 55 cm. high and about 25×20 cm. on top; the other (Plate VI) is 26 cm. long, 15 cm. high, and 15 cm. wide. Briefly described in the small official *Führer durch das Pergamon-Museum*, p. 45. Mentioned here, pp. 16, 32, 64, 65, and 69. *Plates IV–VI*

The interlacing of the one piece, the pillow of the other, and the valance appearing on both identify these blocks at once as parts of a couch. Many features of the original monument are clear from what remains. It had the interwoven filling, cushion at one end and richly figured valance just referred to, an ornamented rail, and at least at one upper corner a

[1] We have seen that the wide rails occur in the case both of chairs and couches on late red-figured ware (p. 49 and n. 1); and we have found evidence for the existence in Attica, at least as early as the middle of the fifth century, of couches with the two ends alike, although they were apparently only coming in then and did not become common until later (pp. 26 and 28). The poses of the two figures in relief do not aid us. The striding attitude, with one leg bent at the knee and the other nearly straight, and often with the face turned away from the direction of movement, as in the case here of the girl, is very common in Greek relief sculpture from the archaic period down to the Neo-Attic school. (*Cf.*, for instance, the girl's figure in the center of the front side of a sarcophagus in the Uffizi Gallery; AMELUNG, *Führer*, p. 24, No. 27=Alinari, photograph No. 1313.) The proportions of the figures in relief on the terra-cotta are perhaps significant of a date before the introduction by Lysippus of a new canon. It is principally for this reason that I have suggested above a date between the years 350 and 325 B. C. Yet even here caution must be exercised, since the figures in question are on so small a scale, are of humble material and were made in a place removed from the center of the influence of Lysippus. Modifications of the design seen on rectangular, incised legs are found as early as the fifth century (p. 27) and are frequent in the fourth century (p. 28); the pattern of the legs of this terra-cotta, however, has features in common with that of the legs of chairs assigned to the Roman period, and one would like therefore to place these as late as possible. Finally the find-spot, Tanagra, according to the views prevalent at present, is favorable to setting the date of this terra-cotta after 350 B. C. (See *B. M. Terracottas*, Introduction, pp. XXXIX, XL.)

[2] My obligation is great to Geheimrath Kekule von Stradonitz, director of the Department of Classical Antiquities of the Royal Museums in Berlin, for calling my attention to these marble fragments and allowing me to publish them. My thanks are due to him also for the photographs reproduced in (*b*) of Plate VII, in (*a*) and (*b*) of Plate XV, in Plate XXVIII, and in the tailpiece of chap. 2.

griffin support instead of an ordinary couch leg. If we look closer, it is evident that these are end-pieces, and that they cannot belong to the same end of the couch. In the side-view of the one (Plate IV) are folds indicating the drawing up of the valance to a corner, and in the top-view (Plate V) of the same block small portions of the frame show on two sides. The other fragment (Plate VI) is clearly from a corner, and the low cushion or pillow distinguishes it as belonging to the head of the couch. In the fragment from the foot of the couch, owing to the unfortunate breaking off of the corner, the nature of the support at the lower end is not apparent, but it may be assumed to have been like that at the head. The valance and ornamented rail would naturally have been on the front of the structure. The main points of doubt, then, are whether the couch was finished all around or was designed to stand against a wall, and therefore left plain behind, and how the griffin supports and the ends otherwise are to be restored.

In case the couch was finished all around, the two long sides were no doubt alike, and there were griffin supports at all four corners. But if it stood against a wall, and it was accordingly appropriate in the design to emphasize the front as distinguished from the back, it is very possible that there were legs of one of the ordinary forms at the back (*cf.* the instance of less ornate legs at the back of the Vathia funerary couch, Fig. 38). There are, however, two other possibilities, in case the couch stood against a wall: one is that since the couch-form had merely a surface rendering upon a solid block of marble, and therefore supports at the back were not constructionally essential, these supports were omitted altogether; the second is that up to the wall on both ends the couch was finished like one designed to stand out, visible on all four sides.

The griffins faced outward. They may have been crouching or standing, their bodies being carved in relief along the ends of the bed; their tails would then probably have formed an S-shaped curve, with ends apparently helping to support the rail of the couch. But there is another plausible restoration; that is, after the manner of the supports of the marble tables (*cartibula*) seen in the *atria* of Pompeian houses (*e. g.*, Fig. 48). In these, only the head, wings, and a portion of the body of the griffin are represented; below, the body passes into one huge leg with claw-foot.[1] Other more or less elaborate designs fill in the space between the two opposite supports.

Our main interest, however, is not in this marble couch as such, but in it so far as it is a translation into stone of contemporary real couches. There can be no question that the

[1] It is unfortunate that the Pergamene fragments are indecisive on this point. One would like to know whether this kind of griffin support which was common in the Roman period in work in marble was in use in the Hellenistic age. Certainly there are similar combinations of very ancient origin. For instance, the archaic Etruscan sarcophagus of terra-cotta in the British Museum rests upon supports (see the detail of this sarcophagus given in Fig. 41), which consist each of the upper part of a sphinx or siren passing, without leaves or other forms to disguise the incongruity, into a heavy claw-foot. This hybrid is analogous to the older of the two combinations of plant and animal forms (see p. 87) in the one respect that the two parts in the two classes of motives appear to be organically united. The various Greek and Roman decorative motives in which mythological animals or other unreal combinations of animal forms, as well as vegetable and animal forms together, appear, would repay extended study and analysis.

interlacing, valance, and ornate frame are not marble forms. For all of these, analogies can be found in representations of what were certainly ordinary beds or couches in use in interiors. But the griffin support in the representation of a bed is, so far as I know, unique.[1] This may be mere chance. On the other hand, it is possible that the griffin was introduced in this case by the designer because particularly appropriate to work in marble. Besides the Pompeian examples in marble mentioned in the preceding paragraph, animal supports are numerous in relief sculpture, in small bronzes, and in terra-cottas.[2] It is perhaps possible to explain them as fanciful conceits, or as miniature copies of cult statues in bronze or marble, rather than as modeled on common household furniture. Certainly animal supports made out of wood or bronze would render an indoor article of common use heavy and unwieldy, whereas solidity in effect and in actual weight are desirable in marble. Further, the distribution of the apparently supporting members is a matter of indifference (except to artistic feeling) where these members are carved or cast in relief and the real burden is borne by the solid background. It is difficult to conceive of some forms seen on the monuments as practical in the round even in bronze. In the case under consideration, the constructional difficulty of connecting the end-rail with the side-rail, which seems to lie at a slightly lower level (Plate VI), is in favor of the view that the griffin is an introduction into the design as adapted to work in marble.

FIG. 48.—Marble table in the atrium of the "House of Meleager," Pompeii.

The rails seen in Plates IV–VI undoubtedly represent wooden construction, but it is not so clear whether the ornament on the front-rail and the griffin support were of wood or of bronze, if, contrary to the view set forth above, the griffin was a feature of an actual couch which served as a model to the worker in marble. There is a sharpness of relief in the palmette depicted on the rail (Plate VI) which suggests that this palmette was an applied

[1] *Cf.* p. 112, n. 27.

[2] There is in the Archæological Museum in Florence a terra-cotta cinerary urn in the form of a seated life-size figure; the supports of the chair of this figure are sphinxes facing to the front with wings clasped about the sides of the chair. In numerous small terra-cottas, as well as in larger works in marble, representing Cybele seated, lions occupy a similar position (see REINACH, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Vol. I, pp. 182–85). Two bronze female figures in the British Museum stand on stools that have animal supports; these supports are in the one case, No. 493 in the Etruscan Saloon, lions; in the other, a fifth-century Greek bronze (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Vol. XXII [1898], Plate I), they are pegasi. A fragment of a relief from Rhodes representing Serapis and Isis, which is also in the British Museum, shows a chair with sphinx support extending in relief on the side. These examples might be multiplied.

ornament of metal rather than one carved in the wood of the rail. Moldings like the one forming at the top a transition from the rail to the interlacing (p. 65 and Plate V) serve a similar purpose for the decorative panels on the side of the rail, curving from the surface of the rail to the ground of the sunken panels.

One of the most interesting features of these marbles is the representation of a valance. From the appearance of the folds, the valance is to be thought of as of fairly heavy stuff, and probably as woven rather than embroidered, possibly as the kind which at a later date was exported to Italy and used on mattresses (*cf.* p. 71 and n. 12). I have found no other valance equally elaborate in design, unless it is the one of different character on the little terra-cotta from Egypt pictured in Plate VII*a*. In vase-paintings a plain border and polka-dots or rosettes scattered over the surface of the valance are common, and rows of animals, as in the headpiece of chap. 4, are occasional. Here the pattern is in horizontal registers containing a great variety of common and uncommon motives. Beginning at the top (Plate IV), the first register after the break in the stone contains two varieties of rosettes, alternating and placed in squares. Both these rosette forms are closely composed and have a small circle in the center. One is made up of four broad leaves with the rounded ends outward and tendrils between the leaves. The other is formed of four leaves pointed at the outer extremities and broad in the middle, with rays occupying the space between them. (*Cf.* Plate VI, where one of the rosettes made up of petals with rounded ends is visible just below the rail.) The next register shows a somewhat narrower, running tendril design, of a kind known from the Mycenæan period[1] down to Roman times. Then comes the widest field of the entire valance. The preserved portion of it is occupied by a tripod (tall, with claw-feet, and no doubt to be thought of as made of bronze) and a griffin. Both wings of the griffin show; his head is turned looking back, his left paw is raised, and his tail curves up over his back. There was doubtless a second griffin in a corresponding position on the other side of the tripod. The next design is unusual in Greek art, although a common one on Assyrian monuments (Perrot and Chipiez, Vol. II, *Chaldée et Assyrie*, Figs. 41, 42, 86, 102, 104–7, 112, 118, 359, and Plate XIV). Its position here should be noticed, for it is properly an upper terminal border. For instance, it is the regular upper finish of braziers of bronze of the Roman period.[2] Almost the same motive is seen in Moorish art, the only difference being that the line connecting the steps in the Moorish type is no longer vertical, but is a diagonal turning inward.[3] The next register below is nearly as wide as that containing the griffin and tripod. In it parts of sea monsters may be made out—to the left, a sinuous, scaly body; to the right, the fore feet and head of some sea creature. Next comes a very graceful variety of the alternating palmette and lotus pattern; in this the component parts of the palmettes have the ends curved in. Below this is the familiar

[1] *Cf.* RIEGL, *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, on "Die Entstehung der Ranke," pp. 113 ff.

[2] Examples in Lyons, France (*Catalogue sommaire des musées de la ville de Lyon*, pp. 229, 230, Fig. 70) and in Naples (MAU-KELSEY, *Pompeii: Its Life and Art*[2], p. 377, Fig. 207, and *Real museo borbonico*, Vol. II, Plates XLVI, 2, and LIV).

[3] *E. g.*, a parapet around the tops of buildings, such as the Mosque of Cordova, and the upper border of the mosaic of tiling which occupies the wall-space below the plaster work in the Alhambra.

astragal of Greek art, and then a design which is far from clear. Finally, there are traces of a fringe.

Not only is this work remarkable as picturing an elaborate valance, but it is rare as an attempt to render in marble a figured stuff. The one other notable example, aside from the mattresses of marble sarcophagi in couch form, is the more beautiful sculptured piece of drapery from Lycosura in the National Museum at Athens. This last has the same horizontal divisions and indications of fringe and some similar decorative motives—as the sea monsters. It seems to me that the existence of such similar work in the Pergamon couch is favorable, so far as it goes, to dating the Lycosura marbles in the second century B. C.[1]

PLATE VII*a*.—Terra-cotta in the Egyptian Department of the Royal Museums at Berlin.[2] *Verz. der ägypt. Altert.*[2], p. 280, No. 13,696. Mentioned here, pp. 62 (n. 4) and 69. *Plate VIIa*

That a bed is represented is clear from the indications of an interlacing in paint upon its upper surface. The design of the valance has a broad central division and two narrow side divisions. In the center is a goddess[3] standing in a boat and holding in each hand a lotus flower with long stem. The side divisions are occupied by grotesque figures of the god Bes. Although the patterns of the valance are distinctly Egyptian, this style of couch was unquestionably brought into Egypt through foreign influence.[4] The rude terra-cotta reproduces imperfectly the form of a bed which no doubt had rectangular legs at the front as at the back, and was of plank construction similar to that of Fig. 25. The valance may well have extended also along the sides.

There is no means of fixing with certainty the date of this terra-cotta. The fifth-century analogy just noted (Fig. 25) is favorable to placing it also in the fifth century. Yet, except perhaps for the extremely high proportions, this simple form might well occur later. Figures of Bes were especially popular in the Roman period, but as representations of this god are known even from the New Empire of Egyptian history, their occurrence on the valance is no hindrance to a tentative dating of the terra-cotta in about the fifth century B. C.

[1] A recent utterance in regard to this much-disputed point is by Mr. A. M. DANIEL (*J. H. S.*, Vol. XXIV [1904], pp. 41 ff.), in favor of a date in the fourth century B. C.

[2] I am indebted to Professor Adolf Erman, director of the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museums, for permission to reproduce this terra-cotta as well as to use the following material: the terra-cotta of Plate XXIX*a*, the Egyptian couch whose rail is given in Figs. 32 and 33, and the fragment of Egyptian faïence pictured in Fig. 13.

[3] Professor J. H. Breasted, of the University of Chicago, has kindly called my attention to the resemblance of this figure to the Syrian goddess Kedesh (*cf.* MASPERO, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 159), and to the fact that a purely Egyptian divinity would hardly be represented in full front view.

[4] Late Egyptian couches, known in small terra-cottas similar to the one of Plate VII*a*, have lions' legs; these, unlike the claw-feet of non-Egyptian furniture, which usually turn out, are placed as an animal's legs are, all directed forward. Egyptian couches are very low; further, they have footboards, but instead of headboards small rests to fit under the neck.

Plate VIIb PLATE VII*b*.[1]—Terra-cotta from southern Italy. In the Antiquarium of the Royal Museums at Berlin. Height, 12 cm. *Cf.* Kekule von Stradonitz, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, Vol. III, Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, p. 206, No. 9, where a replica is pictured and a third example cited, both also in the Berlin Antiquarium. Mentioned here, pp. 29 and 68.

Plates VIII–X PLATES VIII–X.[2]—Parts of a couch restored as a seat. In the British Museum. Height of present structure, 48 cm.; width, 30 cm. Uprights of *fulcra*, from tops of mules' heads to outer edges of medallions, 28 cm.; diameter of medallions, 5.7 cm. *B. M. Bronzes*, p. 330, No. 2561.[3] Mentioned here, pp. 32, 50, 83 (ns. 3, 8), 84, 85, 87, and 89.

United in this seat are parts of a couch of the type with curved rests. By lengthening the rails, placing the uprights of the *fulcra* in their proper position above the rails, those with mules' heads in front, and those with ducks' heads (Plate X) at the back, restoring the wooden parts which once connected the uprights, removing the unwarranted braces from leg to leg, and using their bronze casings for the back corners of the rails, and supplying finally at the ends the floor-level braces of wood which are implied[4] by the form of the lowest members of the legs, the ancient couch in approximately its original appearance, exclusive of interlacing and furnishings, would be recovered.

FIG. 49.—Satyrs' heads.—*British Museum*.

The winged heads of the medallions (Plate X) in low relief which were on the back of the couch are similar to (or identical with?) heads on the so-called "bisellia" in Naples.[5] The medallions of the front of the couch (see Plate IX and a slightly different view in Fig. 49) are especially worthy of attention. They represent youthful, laughing satyrs. Little horns growing from the foreheads, pointed ears, and small protuberances on the neck mark them as satyrs. The fawn-skins over their left shoulders and

[1] See p. 93, n. 2.

[2] See p. 90, n. 1.

[3] By some oversight the erroneous statement has crept in that the mules' heads of the *fulcra* are adorned with vine-wreaths.

[4] Otherwise the turned legs would certainly end in slender members. This guide has been correctly followed in supplying the floor-level braces of the couch from Boscoreale, now in Berlin (*Jahrb.*, Vol. XV [1900], *Anz.*, p. 178, Fig. 1). On many bronze legs of couches, as on those of Plates VIII and XVIII, in the process of restoration, the openings intended to receive the ends of the wooden braces have been closed with metal.

[5] *Real museo borbonico*, Vol. II, Plate XXXI, 3. According to AMELUNG, *Röm. Mitt.*, Vol. XVII (1902), p. 270, n. 1, one at least of these "bisellia" has now been reconstructed as a bed.

ivy crowning their heads are also appropriate to satyrs. The firm flesh of the cheeks, heavy brows, modulations of the forehead, broad nose, curve of the lips, and above all the rollicking, irresponsible expression are well rendered in these bronzes. These heads are interesting as compared with similar types known in sculpture, such as the superb bronze head in Munich (*Beschr. der Glypt.*, p. 369, No. 450) and the marble one in the Louvre, reproduced in Reinach, *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées*, Plate 261.

The bronze and marble heads mentioned are Hellenistic work,[1] but these bronzes resembling them are not necessarily of contemporary date. Indeed, if the same rule holds good in small bronzes that has been recognized[2] in the case of marble sculpture, the form of the satyrs' busts of Plate IX, showing as they do so much of the arms and breast, indicates that they were made in the reign of Trajan or of Hadrian.[3]

Plates XI and XII

PLATES XI AND XII.[4]—Bronze uprights of the *fulcra* of couches. In the British Museum. The inlaid patterns formerly filling the frame (*cf.* Plate VIII) are now lost. *B. M. Bronzes*, p. 331, Nos. 2563–67. Mentioned here, pp. 32, 83, 84, 85, and 87.

Plate XI*a* and *b* (= Nos. 2567, 2566) are alike in size, 42.5 cm. from the top of the head to the outer edge of the medallion, and are probably from the front and back of the same couch. No. 2566 is said in the catalogue (*B. M. Bronzes*) to have on a bridle; there is certainly none now present on the bronze. About the horse's neck is a panther's skin, as frequently in these bronzes, not a collar terminating in a dog's head, as suggested in the catalogue. The disk, similar to that of (*a*), which once ornamented the medallion of (*b*), has been lost.

Plate XII*a* (=No. 2565). Diagonal dimension taken as above, 28 cm. Feminine bust, at the lower end of the upright, distinguished as Artemis by the quiver visible above the right shoulder.

[1] Professor Furtwängler assigns the Munich bronze to the Alexandrian period, and M. Reinach thinks that the marble in the Louvre may be an original of Pergamene or Rhodian workmanship.

[2] By P. Bienkowski. See *Revue archéologique*, Series 3, Vol. XXVII (1895), pp. 214 and 293–97.

[3] I have not been able, with the material at my command, to work out the chronology of the various bronze attachments of couches. One other point besides the different forms of the busts should be mentioned which may be indicative of differences of date. This is the varying shape of the frame of the uprights at the outer, lower corners, opposite the medallions. There are two distinct forms noticeable. In one, represented in Plates VIII–X and in Plate XXI, the molding runs out in an acute angle and then turns back on itself, forming an inner acute angle. In the other form the corner is not so attenuated, and the upright strip of molding terminates upon the lower strip in a tiny volute (Plates XI, XII) or simply passes into the lower strip with a preceding slight inward curve (Plate XVI). But that these corner forms are to be considered chronological peculiarities is not the only explanation which may be offered. It is equally possible that this detail is the same in bronzes issuing from one factory, and that the forms mentioned were in use simultaneously in different cities or workshops. In either case the matter is of interest. There is a chance, it seems to me, by using these bronzes which exist in such abundance as a starting-point, to arrive at some interesting conclusions in regard to the chronology and common place of production of many objects of Roman industrial art.

[4] See p. 90, n. 1.

Plate XII*b* (=No. 2564). Diagonal dimension, 34 cm. The medallion contains an unattractive head of Eros with childish chubby cheeks and open mouth; the front hair is gathered into a topknot, and there are small wings with recurved tips. Around the neck is a heavy garland similar to that seen on the medallion of bone in Plate XXII.

Plate XII*c* (=No. 2563). Diagonal measurement, 27 cm. Cast, as the two preceding, all in one piece, including the medallion. The holes for attachment to the wooden parts of the *fulcrum* are 5 mm. in diameter; the bronze nails are still clinging in some of them. A head of Eros adorns the lower end; in this case the god is apparently represented as a half-grown lad.

Plates XIII, XIV, and (d) of Plate XV

PLATES XIII, XIV, AND (*d*) OF PLATE XV.[1]—Upper corner ornaments of *fulcra* which, contrary to the technical method pursued in the case of the uprights of *fulcra* represented in the preceding plates, were cast separately, and have thus become detached. Now in the British Museum. In *B. M. Bronzes*, p. 330, Nos. 2562_{1-6}, six mules' heads are briefly described. I am unable to correlate the statements with the individual bronzes represented here, except that No. 2562_3=Plate XIV*b*. Mentioned here, pp. 33, 50, 84, and 85. In these heads the eyes were in whole or in part inserted of another material, and the inserted portions have in many cases dropped out. The collars were more or less richly inlaid with silver.

Plate XVa and b

PLATE XV*a* AND *b*.[2]—Upper corner ornaments of *fulcra*. In the Antiquarium of the Royal Museums at Berlin. The duck's head, (*a*), bears the miscellaneous inventory number 3771 and is from Pompeii. The mule's head, (*b*), is published by Professor Pernice in the *Jahrb.*, Vol. XIX (1904), *Anz.*, p. 30, Fig. 36. I have repeated it here, since the photograph reproduced in Plate XV*b* gives a slightly different view of the head, and since the representation of a ring in the mouth for the attachment of a leading-rein is unique among these bronzes. Professor Pernice calls attention to the particularly careful workmanship on this head. The ivy adorning it, as in many previous cases, is wrought out in high relief, parts being completely detached from the ground. The eyes were of silver inserted, with the pupils inlaid in another material. The pattern of the collar was also once inlaid with silver. Mentioned here, pp. 33, 83 (n. 3), and 85.

Plate XVc

PLATE XV*c*.[1]—One of two busts of boys. Probably a lower corner ornament of the *fulcrum* of a couch. In the British Museum. Height, 10.2 cm. *B. M. Bronzes*, p. 273, No. 1717. Hair very thick and wavy; that of the upper part

[1] See p. 90, n. 1.

[2] See p. 93, n. 2.

of the head gathered into a topknot. Childish features of peculiar type, the lower face being heavy, the cheeks fat, lips small and full, nose broad and stubby, and eyes set wide apart.

PLATE XV*d*.—See above, Plates XIII, etc. *Plate XVd*

PLATE XVI.[1]—Bronze upright of the *fulcrum* of a couch. In the Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum in Vienna, Room XIII, Case IX, No. 749. Diagonal measurement from top of horse's head to outer edge of medallion, 15 cm. Cast in one piece, except for the filling (now lost) of the frame between the two terminal ornaments. Provenience unknown. Mentioned, pp. 32, 83, 84 (n. 2), and 85. *Plate XVI*

The feminine head of the lower ornament is marked as that of a mænad or possibly of Ariadne by the wreath of ivy. Less is seen of the shoulders and bust than in the instances in the preceding plates. The hair above the forehead is parted in the middle; in the neck it hangs in long, wavy locks. The horse's head of the upper end of the bronze has the forelock gathered into a tuft.[2] A panther's skin is placed about the shoulders.

PLATE XVII.[3]—Two bronze mules' heads from the uprights of the *fulcra* of a couch. Found at Vienne, France. In the Louvre, in the Thierry Collection, Nos. 48 and 49. Height, 12.5 cm. Mentioned, pp. 33 and 85. *Plate XVII*

PLATES XVIII AND XIX.[4]—Parts of a couch restored as a seat. In Lyons. The entire structure as it now appears is given in Plate XVIII, a detail from one rail in Plate XIX. Height, 55 cm.; width, 98 cm. Found at Jallieux, near to Bourgoin (Isère), in 1848. *Catalogue sommaire des musées de la ville de Lyon*, p. 229, No. 71. Mentioned here, pp. 8, 88, and 98 (n. 4). *Plates XVIII and XIX*

Unless the bronze uprights of one or two *fulcra* have been lost, we have here the parts of a middle couch, which in a triclinium requires no end-rest (*cf.* p. 33). In Plate XVIII, by close inspection, the entire pattern on the lower corner strip to the left may be made out. There are two rosettes at each extremity: two vines, one ivy, the other grape, start from each end and run intertwined toward the center, where they terminate each side of a central lozenge. (*Cf.* p. 88.) Details of the pattern and the present corroded condition of the bronze are clearly shown in Plate XIX.

[1] My thanks are due to Professor Robert von Schneider, curator of classical antiquities in the Imperial Museums of Vienna, for permission to publish this bronze and for the photograph reproduced in this plate.

[2] See in regard to the forelock arranged in a tuft, MORGAN, *Xenophon on Horsemanship*, p. 175, note on p. 44.

[3] Reproduced from a photograph taken at my request by M. Giraudon, with the kind permission of the authorities of the Louvre.

[4] From photographs taken at my request by M. Silvestre, of Lyons, with the kind consent of M. Dissard, curator of classical antiquities in the Lyons Museum.

Plates XX–XXVI PLATES XX–XXVI.—Funerary couch found in a tomb at Orvieto some time previous to the year 1896, when it was acquired by the Field Columbian Museum of Chicago.[1] The restoration was made in Italy by Campanini.[2] The museum records contain only the further statement that at the time of finding the bone parts, having fallen away from the wooden frame, were lying in lines and heaps, and were gathered by the excavators into bags. Probably, therefore, all the antique parts of the present structure were found in one tomb chamber. The modern parts are numerous, consisting of the frame of wood, much of the mosaic of plaster and bone covering this frame, some entire figures in bone, and patches on the carvings in both bone and plaster. Mentioned, pp. 32, 56–58, 75 (n. 5), 99 (n. 3), and 100.

The original design of the couch has been discussed on pp. 56–58. It remains here to consider details and to determine as far as possible what antique carvings now on the couch are foreign to the original structure, probably having belonged on some other object or objects deposited in the tomb chamber. In the accompanying plates[3] examples are given of the various classes of carved ornament represented on the present couch. An enumeration of all the carvings follows:

1. Two pairs of medallions with heads in high relief. Height, 9.7 cm. One pair given in Plates XXI and XXII.[4] These heads are all of one type, the only difference between the two pairs being in the bust. In the one pair it was adorned with a garland (Plate XXII); in the other it had a garment draped over one shoulder as in Plate XXI, where the bust is modern, but is restored from the other pair of medallions. The heads of each pair are symmetrical, one being turned to the right and the other to the left. In the case of the two with drapery, the latter is over the left shoulder of the one figure and over the right shoulder of the other.

2. Four lions' heads of a single type. Height, 11.4 cm. Plate XXIII.[5]

[1] I wish here to express my thanks to the authorities of the Field Columbian Museum for permitting me to publish this bed.

[2] See chap. 2, p. 57, n. 1.

[3] Plate XX is from a photograph taken when the bed was still in Italy. As the bed is too fragile to be moved readily, and is now inclosed in a case, I was unable to get a better general view of it. The views of details reproduced in Plates XXI–XXVI were made by the museum photographer, Mr. C. H. Carpenter, who succeeded admirably, considering the difficulties of unfavorable light on some parts of the bed and the necessity of working through glass.

[4] The bust of Plate XXI is restored, without, however, wings, which should just fill out the circle of the medallion (*cf.* GRAEVEN, Phot. 54). The chin, top of head, back, right side piece, and bits on front of bust of Plate XXII seem to be renewed; the wings, made up partly of old, partly of new pieces, are much too large and spreading. The figure of Plate XXII shows in the general view of the bed, Plate XX; the two medallions framed in moldings (in part antique) to the right and left are themselves wholly modern. On the opposite side of the bed, in the middle, is one medallion of the other pair, also provided by the restorer with large, spreading wings. This has the medallion shown in Plate XXI on the left and its own companion-piece similarly framed on the right.

[5] The left ear, the mane on the left side, and the top of the head have been renewed. The three other heads have been more or less patched and the eyes repainted. *Cf.* Plate XX; these four lions' heads now occupy positions between the medallions and the corners on the long rails of the couch.

3. A series of figures carved in relief. These are on panels 10.4 cm. high, having a slightly curved surface and joints cut radially. Their width varies slightly, from 4 to 4.8 cm.[1] Plates XXIV–XXV.[2] The following have enough antique parts to guarantee them:

a) Three panels bearing a horn of plenty above and a diminutive putto below. On the lower part of the horn is visible a hand holding it, and filling in the space beside it is an arm. The putto is looking back in the opposite direction from that in which he is walking. Of the three preserved specimens, two, in which the putto is walking to the right, are alike, and the third is exactly reversed.

b) Three figures walking and looking in the same direction with a garment draped about one leg and drawn up over the shoulder on the same side, also passing in a roll across the other thigh. Of these, two are moving to the right and have the drapery mostly on the left side of the figure, the third is moving to the left and has the drapery on the right side.

c) Eleven figures, nude except for a very slight scarf-like drapery passing over one shoulder and under the other arm with end hanging down from the shoulder; heads and legs turned in opposite directions. Of these, five are moving to the right and six to the left, and the figures of the two sets are in every way symmetrical.

d) Parts of four torches and hands holding them.

4. One lion's head. Somewhat smaller (height, 9.9 cm.) than those of (2) and differing slightly in stylistic details. Plate XXVI.[3]

In the light of the evidence presented in chap. 2, pp. 56 ff., it seems reasonably certain that the original couch had curved rests at each end with the medallions of (1) at their lower extremities, and that the carvings of (3) were on the legs. It is not so clear how the *fulcra* appeared otherwise, or how the carvings enumerated under (2) and (4) were originally used. The filling of the curve of the uprights of the *fulcra* between the two terminal ornaments is certainly lost; this would have been either a plain covering of bone or an ornament flatly executed—incised or carved in very slight projection—analogous to that of some bronze uprights of *fulcra* (*cf.* Plates VIII–X). The upper corner ornaments of the *fulcra* are also gone, unless they be some of the lions' heads. Those of (2) are of the proper number to suit this position, and their similarity to one another corresponds to the resemblance between the medallions, the two pairs of uprights then, in case the lions' heads occupied the position in question, having been almost exactly alike. The heads of other

[1] This is not surprising, as it was probably occasioned by the varying size of the bones at the disposal of the workman.

[2] Plate XXIV seems entirely antique, except the right arm and the triangle between the legs of the figure on the left. In Plate XXV the principal restorations are the arms, right leg, and triangle of the figure to the right, the lower part of the cornucopia, and the entire smaller figure to the left.

[3] Tip of nose and part of mane next the head on the right and the whole of the mane on the left seem to have been renewed. *Cf.* Plate XX, which shows this head as now situated in the middle of an end-rail. In a corresponding position on the other end-rail is an impossible-looking, draped half-figure, which on examination proved to be chiefly plaster. I can make nothing of the few pieces of bone which are incorporated into it.

animals than horses and mules occur as the upper corner ornaments of *fulcra* (*cf.* Fig. 50), so that there is no objection on the score of their being lions' heads to the proposed restoration. If these lions' heads were so used, their necks, now lost, as well as tips of leaves forming a transition to the moldings below, no doubt filled out the usual scheme. In technic, then, the upper ornaments would represent a stage in the use of bone between carving in the round, as the heads of the Ancona beds are executed, and low relief, represented in other ornaments from the upper corners of *fulcra* (see p. 58). Here the projection is considerable, but the heads are nevertheless not finished at the back and are to be attached to a ground.

FIG. 50.—Part of a terra-cotta cinerary urn. —*Palermo.*

The single smaller lion's head does not find any possible place in the original design as just sketched. Besides this carving, I doubt also whether the bronze shoes (visible in Plate XX) belong to the original structure. They are a feature not present on the Norcia and Ancona couches, and there is a more serious objection to supposing that they belonged on a couch; the bronzes themselves have a slight curve which makes them an inappropriate and ill-fitting termination of straight legs. This curve is more pronounced in a specimen in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, given in Fig. 51.[1] In Zannoni, *Scavi della Certosa*, Plate XIX, 42, is an attempted reconstruction of a piece of furniture having such shoes. The cut is reproduced[2] in Schumacher, p. 55, apropos of two examples, Nos. 320 and 321, in the Karlsruhe Museum. Both Zannoni and Dr. Schumacher call the article of furniture a table. But tables, so far as I am aware, in both the Greek and Roman periods had upright legs with claw-feet or other animals' feet, at least never crossed legs, as in this restoration. Zannoni's drawing looks exactly like the stool with crossed legs of compound curve which appears as early as on south-Italian red-figured vases (Fig. 52) and soon superseding the Greek *ocladias* with legs ending in lions' or deers' feet is

[1] I have to thank the director of the Kestner Museum, Dr. Schuchhardt, for the photograph reproduced above, as also for that of Fig. 45. The bronze is 16 cm. high, with a lower diameter of 3.5 cm. The left-hand prong has been broken off at a little less than half its height and is fastened again in place; the ball-like object at its upper end on the rivet passing to the other prong is modern cement. The British Museum has a similar specimen, not included in the catalogue of bronzes, so far as I can find. It measures 5.8 cm. to the top of one of the lower prongs (the higher prongs are broken off above) and 3.7 cm. in diameter at the lower end. Within are remains of wood, a part of the furniture leg to which it was once attached; this is proof that the shoe was not at the end of a metal rod such as perhaps always formed the strength of the legs of bone (*cf.* p. 55, n. 9).

[2] Also in MONTELIUS, *La civilization primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux*, Part I, Plate 102, 15.

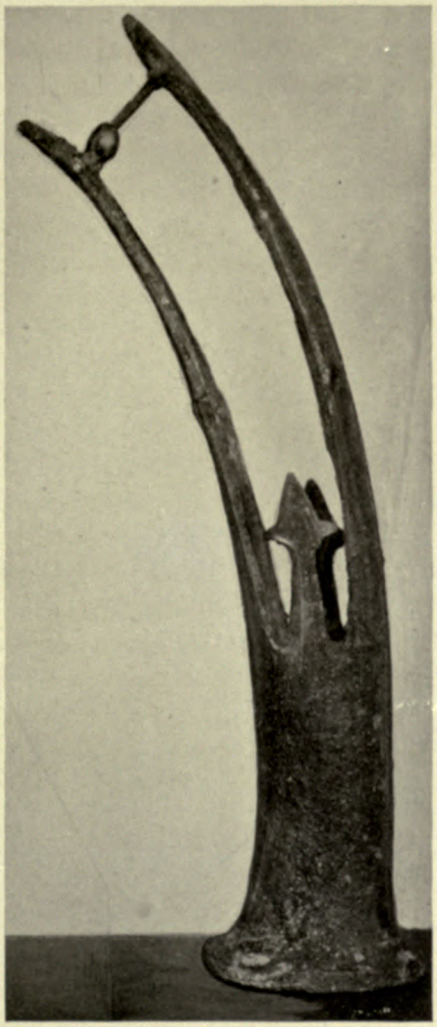


FIG. 51.—Bronze shoe from a stool.—*Kestner Museum, Hanover.*

frequent on monuments down to a late Roman period.[1] Now, these stools are the only pieces of furniture having the legs ending below in a curve which the bronzes would fit; the stools vary among themselves in proportions, to judge by the monuments, some being tall enough to render the lower curve as slight as that of some of the preserved bronze shoes. Zannoni's restoration therefore, apart from the name applied to it, is probably correct, although I am unable to cite any certain, ancient representations[2] of the bronze shoes in place. The probability of the identification is further increased by the fact that in at least two cases[3] round ornaments have been found with the shoes, such as the monuments show at the crossing of the legs of many folding (?)[4] stools. This brings me to the suggestion that the tomb chamber in which this funerary bed was found may have contained such a stool veneered in bone, with the smaller lion's head (Plate XXVI) and another like it, not preserved, at the crossing of the legs, and the two pairs of bronze shoes protecting the lower ends of the legs. Fig. 52 from a red-figured vase of south Italy shows a stool of this type with a human mask at the intersection of the legs, and lions' masks are equally suitable to such a position.

It is possible to make out with considerable assurance the arrangement of the carvings on the legs of the original couch through the aid afforded by the symmetry observable in the preserved pieces. To turn back to (3) it will be at once clear that

[1] For example, a bronze statuette in the Louvre seated on such a stool (REINACH, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Vol. II, p. 686, 1; clearer in Giraudon's photograph, No. 114 [series of bronzes in the Louvre]), likewise an Etruscan scarabæus (BAUMEISTER, Vol. III, Fig. 1839), a marble statue in the Museum of Saint-Germain, No. 28,218, and a small bronze figure in the British Museum (*B. M. Bronzes*, No. 849 = REINACH, *ibid.*, p. 630, 2). That these stools continued long in use is proved by their occurrence on Christian sarcophagi, as on two in the Lateran Museum (Moscioni, photographs Nos. 6759 and 2916). These successors of Greek folding stools, although having their chief features of design in common, differ in some particulars among themselves; but this is not the place to enter into such details.

[2] The bronze statuette in the Louvre, cited at the beginning of the previous note, and some others, do indeed show on stools a profile which at the floor-level is similar to that of the bronze shoes, but I have never discovered the longer and shorter prongs characteristic of these bronzes in any ancient reproductions.

[3] I refer to the specimens in Karlsruhe and to others found by Zannoni. For references see p. 104.

[4] In many instances, at least, the stools have a wide rail which would prevent their folding. *Cf.* Fig. 52, where there is not only a wide rail, but an ornament filling in the triangle formed by rail and legs.

the three carvings enumerated under (*a*) imply a fourth now lost, and similarly in the case of (*b*). The figures of (*c*) must have numbered sixteen originally, for six of each kind would not divide up so as to preserve the symmetry on four couch legs. This gives, then, for each leg: one panel with a cornucopia and a small figure with feet turned to right or left; one of a draped figure, moving either to the right or left; four of the nearly nude figures, two with feet directed to the left and two with feet directed to the right; and finally one panel with a hand holding a torch on it in some position—seven in all.[1] The diagram in Fig. 53 shows the probable arrangement of these carvings on two front legs. They were no doubt placed with reference to the long sides of the couch, corresponding in that respect to the decorations of the *fulcra*. The arrows indicate the directions in which the figures are supposed to be moving, and the letters correspond to the enumeration under (3). Since (*b*) by reason of the drapery and its single occurrence is especially marked, it naturally belongs to the center of the composition. The panel of the (*b*) class seen in Plate XXIV joins perfectly with the adjacent panel having the cornucopia; these two, then, belonged together and occupied the most conspicuous position on the legs and the four panels of (*c*) fall into place on each side. The joint between (*c*) and (*a*) where the figures are moving to the left is assured in one case (not given in the plates) which helps in the distribution of the panels, showing that the direction of movement was toward the back panel (*d*). This last may have had a column,[2] tripod,[2] or altar, and probably stood for the goal of the procession, the most interesting point of which is shown in the group on the front of the legs. The torch I assign to this panel because there is no room for it on any of the others; it was in all probability held by one of the adjacent figures of the (*c*) class. Crude as the work is in execution, the composition is not bad. The break in the direction of march between (*c*) and (*b*) is not displeasing, because (*c*) is looking back at (*b*). There is unity in the central composition, the little figure is walking in the same

FIG. 52.—Darius enthroned. Detail from a vase-painting.—*Naples.*

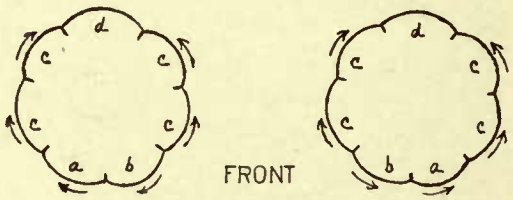


FIG. 53.

[1] This result is confirmed by such approximate calculations as I have been able to make from the dimensions of the panels. On the basis of 4.4 cm. width, seven panels would form a circle of nearly 12 cm., which is a very probable diameter for the legs of a Roman bed at their widest parts.

[2] *Cf.* two other sets of similar carvings which probably served the same purpose. The first set was published by BRUNN, *Ann. d. I.*, 1862, Plate P =BRUNN and BULLE, *Heinrich Brunn's kleine Schriften*, pp. 122 ff., and lately in part in GRAEVEN, Phot. 55. These are now in the Museo delle Terme in Rome. The second series, in the Berlin Antiquarium, is poorly given in GERHARD, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Vol. I, Plate XIV. In GRAEVEN, p. 91, n. 2, it is announced that the Berlin carvings are soon to be discussed in the *Jahrb.*

direction as the larger one, acting as a support to his companion's arm which holds the heavy cornucopia. At the same time, a connection with (*c*) is established by the hand of the figure of (*c*) on the head of the little figure, and the turning of the gaze of the (*c*) figure back to the central group. Each of the other two (*c*) figures next to (*d*) is looking back at the companion who follows him.

A series of similar carvings in Berlin[1] has four figures draped exactly like those of the Orvieto couch, also panels with horn of plenty and small putto. Dr. Graeven[2] recognizes in the principal figure the youthful Dionysus. The case for a Dionysiac interpretation is strengthened there by the occurrence of the thyrsus on several of the other panels of the series. But the torch is also connected, although less frequently, with Dionysus.[3] And since grapes are conspicuous in the filling of the cornucopia here as in the Berlin series, there seems no doubt that the carvings are Dionysiac in character, and the presumption is strong that the principal figure is intended for the god. Dionysus has frequently in art one or more attendants (usually satyrs) much smaller than himself, as, for instance, on the "Icarius reliefs" and the Pergamene altar frieze. The tiny figure here is perhaps an echo of that motive. Since Dionysus and his other companions are boy-like, there is no attempt to differentiate this accessory figure except by his lesser size and complete nudity.

These carvings are not only without attraction, but are positively ugly. The greatest fault in the panel reliefs is in the legs which are short in proportion to the bodies, being especially stunted below the knees. The lions' heads and the medallions show the limitations imposed by the use of bones. The lions' noses are unnaturally and disagreeably broad,[4] and the human heads have heavy lower faces, due, in part at least, to the necessity of following the curve of the bones without deep cutting. For the same reason, in the medallions the eyes are not deeply enough set, and the noses have little elevation. The very flat, spreading nostrils, and tiny mouth framed by unduly full cheeks, give a repulsive expression to the faces.

There is no external clue for dating this funerary bed, but one may say that it could hardly be earlier than 200 B. C. or later than 100 A. D. There is meager evidence in regard to the Ancona and Norcia couches in a coin found with each—with the Ancona couch a coin of 168 B. C.,[5] with the Norcia couch one of the time of Augustus.[6] Pasqui states that in the region of Norcia in graves of the third century, amply dated by coins, wooden sarcophagi, not beds of bone or carvings in bone of any sort, were found. The style of the carvings ought to help in the dating, but squat figures with comparatively large heads begin probably in the third century B. C. within the limits of old Etruria.[7] If the poorness of the work were a safe criterion, the reliefs under consideration would come very

[1] See preceding note.

[2] GRAEVEN, p. 91.

[3] Especially in literature, but occasionally also in art after the middle of the fifth century. See ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Vol. I, cols. 1043, 1044, and VASSITS, *Die Fackel in Kultur und Kunst der Griechen*, pp. 38 ff.

[4] *Cf.* the carvings found at Ancona (BRIZIO, p. 455) where the horses' faces have the same unnatural breadth as that noted above.

[5] BRIZIO, p. 458.

[6] PASQUI, col. 244.

[7] SPRINGER, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, MICHAELIS, Vol. I[7], p. 368.

late among the various extant series of carvings in bone. But it is equally possible that a less skilful workman may have produced them in a period when better work was done. In fact, this last was probably the case, for the points of identity between the carvings in Berlin and these are so many that the two sets must be nearly contemporaneous and be in some way related to one another. The reproductions cited on p. 106 in n. 2 are inadequate for a fair detailed comparison, yet it is apparent from them that the Berlin figures are better proportioned, and the entire composition of the series which they form is less monotonous than in the case of the carvings published here.

It can no longer be thought that this class of work was practiced only in the Abruzzi,[1] since beds of bone have been found in both Ancona and Orvieto, but Pasqui's theory that the art was introduced from Campania is probable enough. In the last three centuries B. C. central Italy was probably influenced by southern Italy rather than directly by the Greek East, and there is every probability that the beds in metal and ivory which these resembled in design were produced in southern Italy.

Plate XXVII PLATE XXVII.—Working drawing for a bed of Roman type. Based on the sarcophagus relief reproduced in Fig. 31. See p. 60.

Plate XXVIII PLATE XXVIII.[2]—Relief in lead, in all probability the end of a coffin. In the Antiquarium of the Royal Museums at Berlin. Length, 26 cm.; height, 18 cm. Mentioned, pp. 34, 36, and 59. In the accession report (Treu, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, col. 260) it is suggested that this relief may be Byzantine. If so late—which I doubt—the relief at least shows a form inherited from the Romans.[3]

Plate XXIXa PLATE XXIX*a*.[4]—Terra-cotta in the Egyptian Department of the Royal Museums at Berlin. Length, 13.5 cm.; height, 9.5 cm. *Verz. der ägypt. Altert.*[2], p. 373, No. 13,166. Mentioned here, pp. 34, 36, 38, and 75. Marks of attachment on the seat of the sofa indicate that there was probably once a second small dog next the cushion.

Plate XXIXb PLATE XXIX*b*.[5]—Terra-cotta in the British Museum. Height, 9.9 cm.; length, 9.9 cm. From Italy. *B. M. Terracottas*, p. 365, No. D 359. Described here, pp. 34, 35, and 76 (n. 1).

[1] PASQUI, col. 242, and GRAEVEN, p. 92.

[2] See p. 93, n. 2.

[3] I shall publish elsewhere a brief article on lead coffins and may be able to throw some light on their chronology.

[4] See p. 97, n. 2.

[5] See p. 90, n. 1.

SECTION II

TABLE OF GREEK AND LATIN TERMS APPLIED TO BEDS, THE PARTS OF BEDS, AND THEIR FURNISHINGS[1]

BEDS AND COUCHES

BED, COUCH:

Common Words—

Homeric and occurring in later poetry: λέχος[2] (both sing. and pl.).

Post-Homeric—

Prose: *κλίνη.*

Prose and poetry: *lectus.*

Rarer Words—

Homeric and occasional in later poetry: δέμνια[2] (pl.), λέκτρον[2] (both sing. and pl.).

Post-Homeric—

Poetry: *κλιντήρ, κλινίς, κοίτη.*[3]

Poetry and prose: *cubile, pulvinar.*

Diminutives, often colloquial, sometimes, but not always, denoting smaller beds: *κλινίδιον, κλιντήριον, κλινάριον, lectulus, lecticula.*[3a]

Poorer, humbler beds: *σκίμπους, ἀσκάντης, ἄσκαντος,*[4] *χαμεύνη,*[5] *κράββατος,* or *κράβατος, grabatus;* diminutives of preceding: *σκιμπόδιον, χαμεύνιον.*[6]

Couch in semicircular form: *ἡμικύκλιον,*[7] *stibadium, sigma.*

PARTS OF BEDS AND COUCHES

LEG: *πούς,*[8] *pes.*[9]

RAIL: *ἐνήλατον,*[10] *κλιντήριον,*[11] *sponda.*[12]

END-REST: *ἐπίκλιντρον,*[13] *ἀνάκλιντρον,*[13] *ἀνάκλιτον,*[14] *ἀνάκλισις,*[15] *fulcrum,*[16] *pluteum.*[16a]

BACK (?): *pluteus* or *pluteum.*[17]

BACK AND END-RESTS (?): *τοῖχοι.*[18]

INTERLACING[19]—

Strands, without implication as to material: *τόνοι, fasciae, institae.*

Thongs: *lora;* of horses' hide, *κάλῳ ἱππείοι.*[20]

Strands of vegetable fiber: *σπάρται, σπαρτία, κειρίαι, σχοῖνοι* (?),[21] *σχοινίαι* (?).[21]

EPITHETS APPLIED TO BEDS AND COUCHES

ADJECTIVES DESCRIPTIVE OF BEDS:

Homeric Terms—

With turned legs: *δινωτὰ*[22] (*λέχεα*).

(?) *τρητὰ*[23] (*λέχεα*).

Post-Homeric Terms—

Having rests at both ends of the bed: *ἀμφικέφαλος.*[24]

Veneered (?), veneered with boxwood (?): *ἀμφίκολλος,*[25] *παράκολλος,*[25] *παράπυξος.*[25]

(?) *σφηνόπους.*[26]

Having sphinxes introduced in the design of the legs (?): *σφιγγόποδες.*[27]

FURNISHINGS OF BEDS AND COUCHES

MATTRESS:

Ordinary words: *τύλη, culcita, torus.*

Diminutive: *τυλεῖον.*

Occasional: *κνέφαλλον.*

PILLOW:

Commonly: *προσκεφάλαιον, pulvinus.*

Occasional: *culcita* (?),[28] *cubital.*

Doric: *ποτίκρανον.*

Post-Augustan: *cervical.*

STUFFING FOR MATTRESSES AND PILLOWS: *πλήρωμα,*[29] *tomentum.*

COVERLETS, DRAPERIES:

Homeric: *ῥήγεα,*[30] *χλαῖναι,*[30] *τάπητες.*[30]

Skins: *κώεα.*

Post-Homeric—

Various terms: *ἀμφίταποι,*[31] *δάπιδες,*[32] *ἐπιβλήματα,*[33] *ἐπιβόλαια,*[34] *ἐφεστρίδες,*[33] *instragula, ξυστίδες,*[33] *opercula,*[35] *opertoria,*[36] *operimenta, περιβόλαια,*[37] *περιστρώματα,*[38] *saga,*[39] *stragula,*[40] *stramenta, στρώματα, στρωμναί, τάπιδες,*[37] *ὑποστρώματα,*[34] *χλαῖναι,*[33] *vestes stragulae.*

Sheepskins used for bedding: *ἀρνακίδες,*[41] *κώδια.*

Coverings with nap on one side: *τάπητες.*[32]

Coverings with nap on both sides: *ἀμφιτάπητες.*[32]

Coverings with smooth surfaces: *ψιλοδάπιδες,*[34] *ψιλοτάπιδες.*[31]

Rush mat to throw over a bed: *ψίαθος,*[42] *φορμοί.*[43]

(?) *toralia.*[44]

[1] I give references in the following notes only for such words as offer special difficulties, and are omitted or not adequately treated in the dictionaries. However, the indications here of the use of these words are only approximate. I have not been able to make an exhaustive investigation of terminology.

[2] For distinctions in the various Homeric terms for beds see BUCHHOLZ, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 150 ff.

[3] Used of the bed, not as a structure, but with emphasis on the idea of a reclining-place. Professor Mau's interpretation: "Es gab Betten an denen sie [the *ἐνήλατα*] eine gewisse Höhe hatten, und die Gurte an ihrer Unterseite befestigt waren, so dass eine Bettlade, *κοίτη* (POLL., VI, 10), entstand" (MAU, col. 370), seems to me unfounded. In the first place, I do not know of any monumental evidence for the statement that the interlacing was sometimes fastened to the under side of the *ἐνήλατα*, and, secondly, it is much simpler to understand the word in POLLUX, VI, 10, as denoting a chest in which the bed-clothing was laid away when not in use; the occurrence of *κοίτη* in POLLUX, VII, 160, in company with *ῥίσκος, κίστη*, and *κιβωτός*, would seem to confirm the translation "chest" for these passages. *Cf.* WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, Vol. VI (1903), p. 240.

[3a] I am aware that the number of occurrences of some of these words is very small for basing a classification upon. Nevertheless, it has seemed best to include even very rare words in the table of terms, placing them according to such evidence as exists.

[4] Suidas only.

[5] The variant *χαμεῦνα* occurs in the list of property of the Hermocopidæ (DITTENBERGER, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum,*[2] No. 44, l. 5; WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, Vol. VI [1903], p. 237).

[6] In POLL., X, 35, synonym of *σκίμπους, ἀσκάντης, κράββατον.* The diminutive form need not be taken as necessarily denoting smaller size.

[7] POLL., VI, 9.

[8] ATHEN., II, 48*b*; VI, 255*e*; POLL., X, 34. *Cf.* κλινῶν πόδες, *I. G.*, I, pp. 73–76, item 33. Professor MICHAELIS in *Der Parthenon*, p. 291, says: "die 12 [should be 13] versilberten Füsse von Ruhebetten haben schwerlich etwas damit gemein" (speaking of the famous chair of Xerxes, which had silver legs), and Dr. VOLLMÖLLER speaks more decisively on this point in the *Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. XXVI (1901), p. 371, n. 2. Most beds must have been made to take down and put up (*cf.* p. 48, n. 2), and at this time the decoration of couches was largely lavished on their supports, so that there is nothing impossible or very remarkable in the presence of detached legs of couches among the treasures kept in the Parthenon.

[9] TER., *Ad.*, 585; OV., *Met.*, VIII, 656–59.

[10] M. Girard thinks that this word was applied to the legs (GIRARD, p. 1015), but the passages that he cites do not prove the statement, and ARTEM., I, 74, referred to by Professor Mau (MAU, col. 370), seems conclusive for the usual translation given above.

[11] In POLL., VI, 9, apparently intended as a synonym for ἐνήλατον.

[12] ISID., XX, 11, 5, and HOR., *Epod.*, 3, 22, indicate the use of the term for the front rail only or the front portion of the couch. Other passages, such as OV., *Met.*, VIII, 656, and PETRON., 97, seem conclusive for the meaning, the couch frame, viz., the four rails taken collectively.

[13] POLL., VI, 9, shows that these terms are synonymous, and X, 34, that they denote parts of a bed; the legs and frame being otherwise provided with names, and the etymology of the word being favorable, the translation given above seems highly probable.

[14] *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, II, 74, 8.

[15] *Etym. M.*, 90, 30. *Cf.* WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, Vol. VI (1903), p. 240.

[16] The meaning of this word was made clear by Professor ANDERSON in the *Classical Review*, Vol. III (1889), pp. 322 ff., in an article entitled "The Meaning of Fulcrum and Fulcri Genius;" the word is discussed by Professor MAU, apparently without knowledge of the earlier article, in the *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1896, pp. 76 ff., under "Fulcra Lectorum. Testudines Alveorum."

[16a] *Corp. Gloss. Lat.*, II, p. 152, 39. *Cf.* MAU, col. 371.

[17] Occurs in reference to beds in three passages, PROP., IV, 8, 68; MART., III, 91, 10; SUET., *Calig.*, 26; for all of which the translation "back" seems appropriate, although the passages are not absolutely conclusive for this interpretation.

[18] ARTEM., I, 74. The word admirably describes the end-boards and back of late Roman couches. *Cf.* Figs. 18 and 40. Artemidorus lived at a time when such couches were in vogue.

[19] See pp. 62 ff.

[20] An item in the newly published fragment of the lists of the property of the Hermocopidæ is κά]λο Ηιππείο δύο (WILHELM, *Jahresh.*, Vol. VI [1903], p. 239).

[21] POLL., X, 36, mentions the terms as doubtful, and Suidas does not give this meaning under the words themselves, although he employs them in his explanation of κειρία, etc.

[22] See p. 39.

[23] HEUZEY (*Mission archéologique en Macédoine*, p. 256) and M. Girard (GIRARD, p. 1014) think that the term refers to rectangular legs with incisions. It seems to me extremely improbable that this well-known type of historic times is older than the seventh century (see p. 73, n. 3). The term has also been interpreted as referring to holes for the accommodation of the interlacing. See further BUCHHOLZ, Vol. II, Part II, p. 152.

[24] The form ἀμφικνέφαλλος of POLL., X, 36, is probably an error. See the latest discussion of the two forms by Dr. A. WILHELM in the *Jahresh.*, Vol. VI (1903), p. 237. For monumental illustration see Figs. 11 and 12 and Plate I.

[25] See p. 41, n. 1.

[26] Occurs in laws in regard to funerals of the city of Iulis on the island of Ceos (ROEHL, *Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae*, 395*a*). Dr. VOLLMÖLLER (*Athen. Mitt.*, Vol. XXVI [1901], p. 348, n. 3) reports the application by Professor Wolters of the term to beds of the type represented by the couch at Vathia (Fig. 38). But to my mind the meaning of σφηνόπους is too general to be assigned with assurance to any one type of couch

known to us. The turned legs of the Vathia couch and its analogues are no more "wedge-shaped" than many other styles of couch legs. And it seems further as if the Greeks would have applied the same word to the turned legs of couches that they did to those of chairs, *i. e.*, στρογγυλόποδες, (*I. G.*, II, 646, l. 13; 673, ll. 4 and 9; 675, ll. 12, 13; and MICHAELIS, *Der Parthenon*, p. 297, Nos. 14 and 30 *p* and *q*). Since there is no other occurrence of the term σφηνόπους in ancient sources, it may have described a local style of couch not illustrated in the monuments.

[27] ATHEN., V, 197*a*. The term, indeed, suggests couches with sphinxes instead of legs as supports, after the manner of some chairs (*cf.* p. 95). Dr. David Robinson, formerly fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, kindly allows me to mention a fragment of a small terra-cotta plaque found at Corinth, which he has identified as the end of a couch. In this the support is a crouching figure, probably a sphinx. This is described by Dr. ROBINSON in an article entitled "Terra-Cottas from Corinth" soon to appear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* This one small terra-cotta, however, and the analogy of the marble couch with supports in the form of griffins, do not convince me that real beds ever had such unwieldy substitutes for legs as sphinxes or griffins. I am inclined to think that the σφιγγόποδες κλῖναι were certain couches, known through monumental evidence, which had crouching sphinxes introduced between the turned members in the design of the legs (see Figs. 14, 30, and 50, and pp. 29, 30). This style of couch was at the height of its popularity at the time of the celebrated feast of Ptolemy Philadelphus, referred to by Athenaeus.

[28] The etymology is favorable to either mattress or pillow, and most passages are indecisive; in a few the context makes it probable that a mattress is intended; I do not know any such for the meaning "pillow."

[29] POLL., X, 41.

[30] For distinctions in these Homeric terms see BUCHHOLZ, Vol. II, Part II, p. 157.

[31] ATHEN., VI, 255*e*.

[32] POLL., X, 38.

[33] *Ibid.*, VI, 10; X, 42.

[34] *Ibid.*, VI, 10.

[35] VARR., *L. L.*, V, 167.

[36] In SEN., *Ep.*, 87, 2, coverlets to be drawn up over the reclining person.

[37] POLL., X, 42.

[38] *Ibid.*, VI, 10, and ATHEN., II, 48*c*.

[39] MART., XIV, 159.

[40] In SEN., *Ep.*, 87, 2, coverlets thrown over the bed.

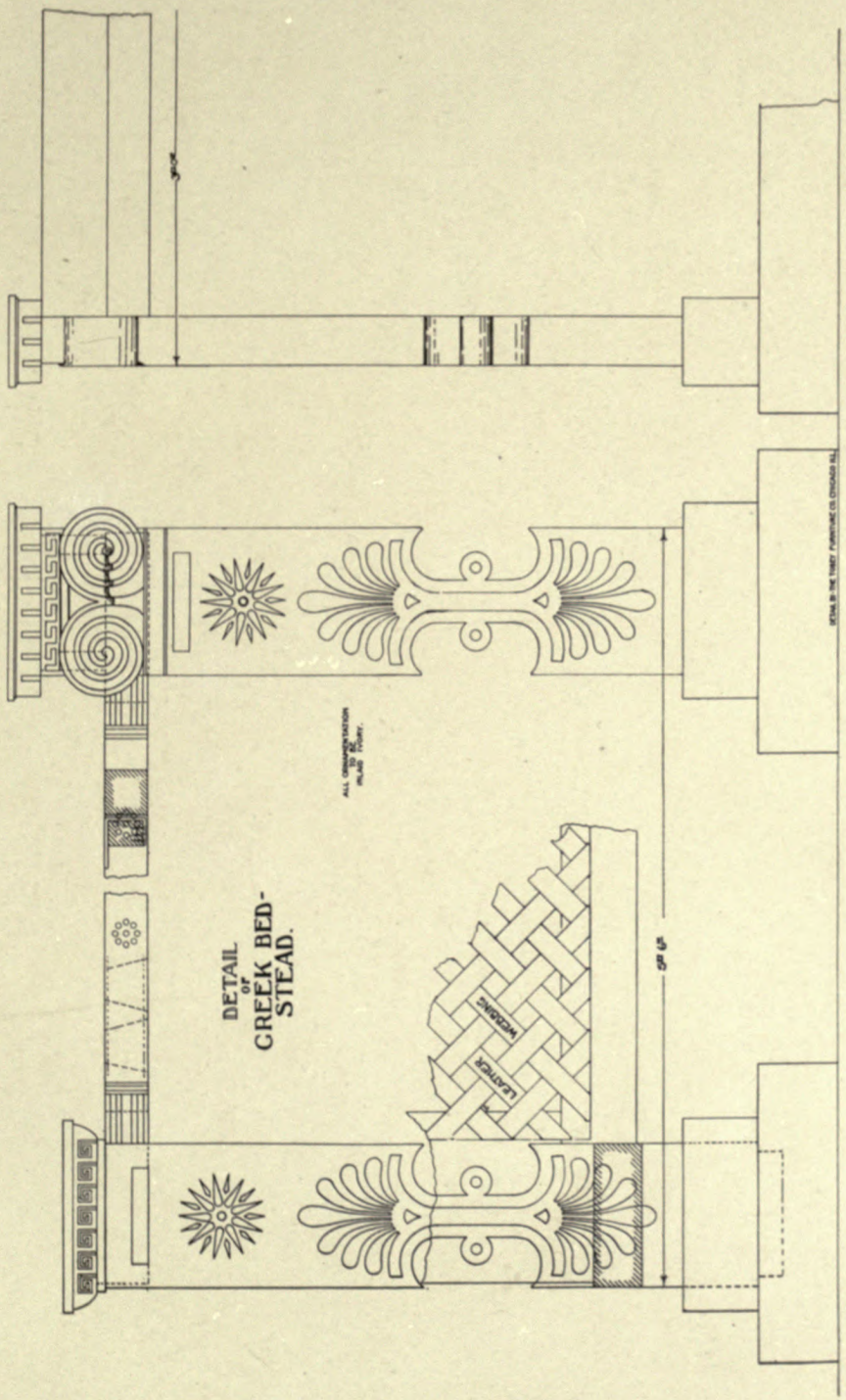
[41] ARISTOPH., *Nub.*, 730.

[42] POLL., X, 43; ARISTOPH., *Lysistr.*, 916 ff.; THEOPHR., *H. P.*, IV, 8, 4.

[43] Given by POLL. (X, 43) directly following ψίαθος.

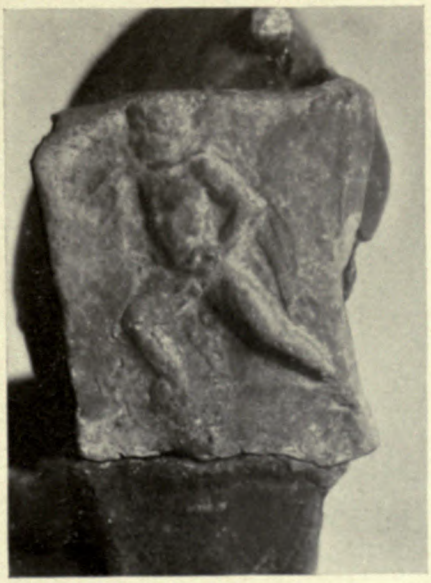
[44] From HOR., *Sat.*, II, 4, 84, it appears that *toralia* were washable. See note in KIESSLING'S Horace on this passage.

ETRUSCAN TERRA-COTTA CINERARY URN.—*British Museum.*



WORKING DRAWING FOR CONSTRUCTION OF A COUCH OF GREEK TYPE.

a



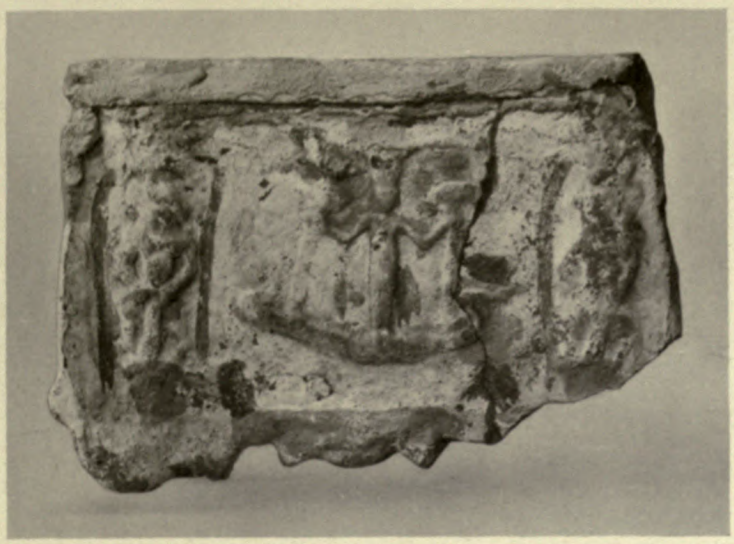
b

RELIEFS ON TERRA-COTTA MODEL OF A COUCH.—*Louvre.*

FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT MARBLE REPRODUCTION OF A COUCH. FRONT-VIEW SHOWING VALANCE.—*Pergamon Museum, Berlin.*

FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT MARBLE REPRODUCTION OF A COUCH. TOP-VIEW SHOWING INTERLACING.—*Pergamon Museum, Berlin.*

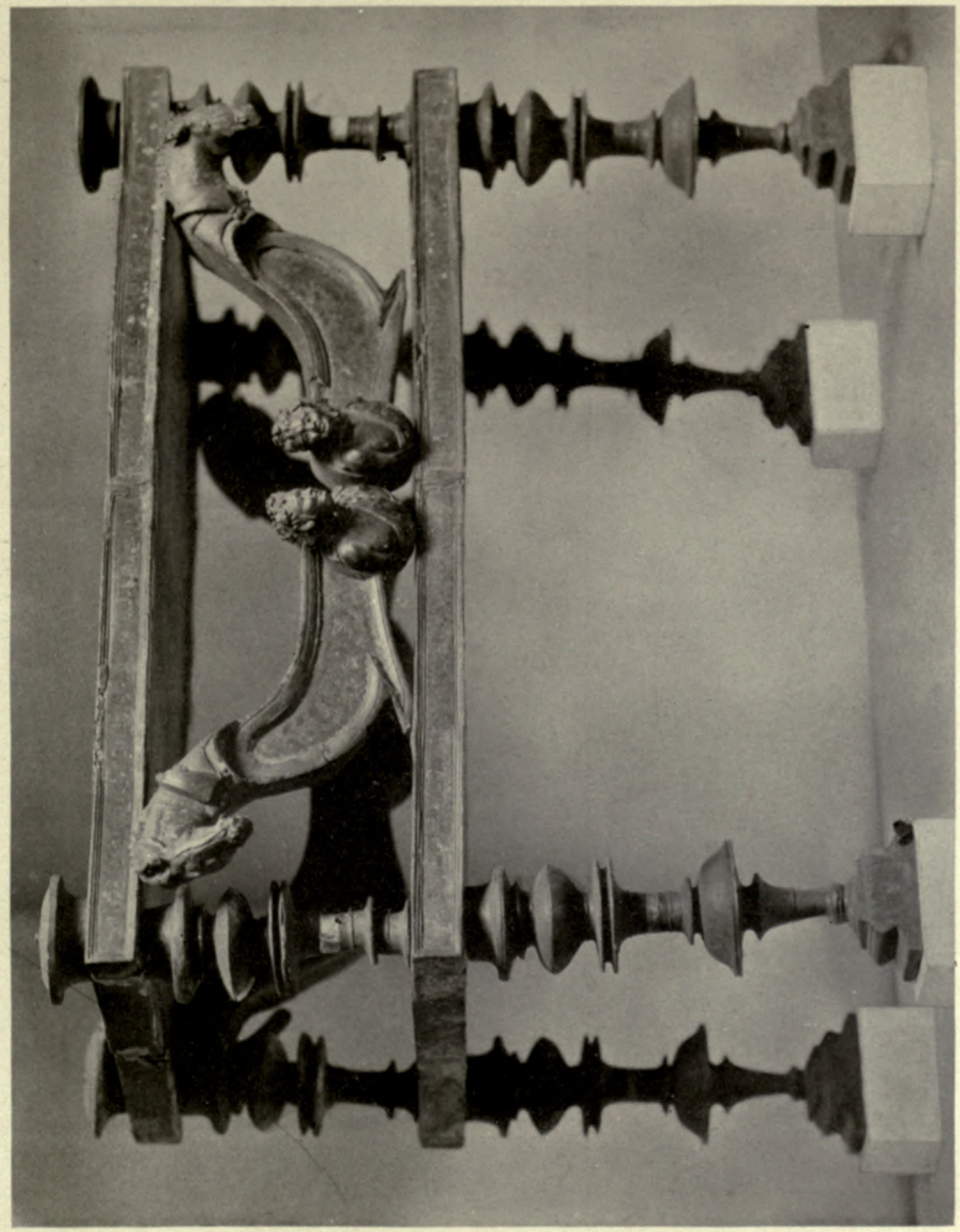
FRAGMENT OF ANCIENT MARBLE REPRODUCTION OF A COUCH.—*Pergamon Museum, Berlin.*



a

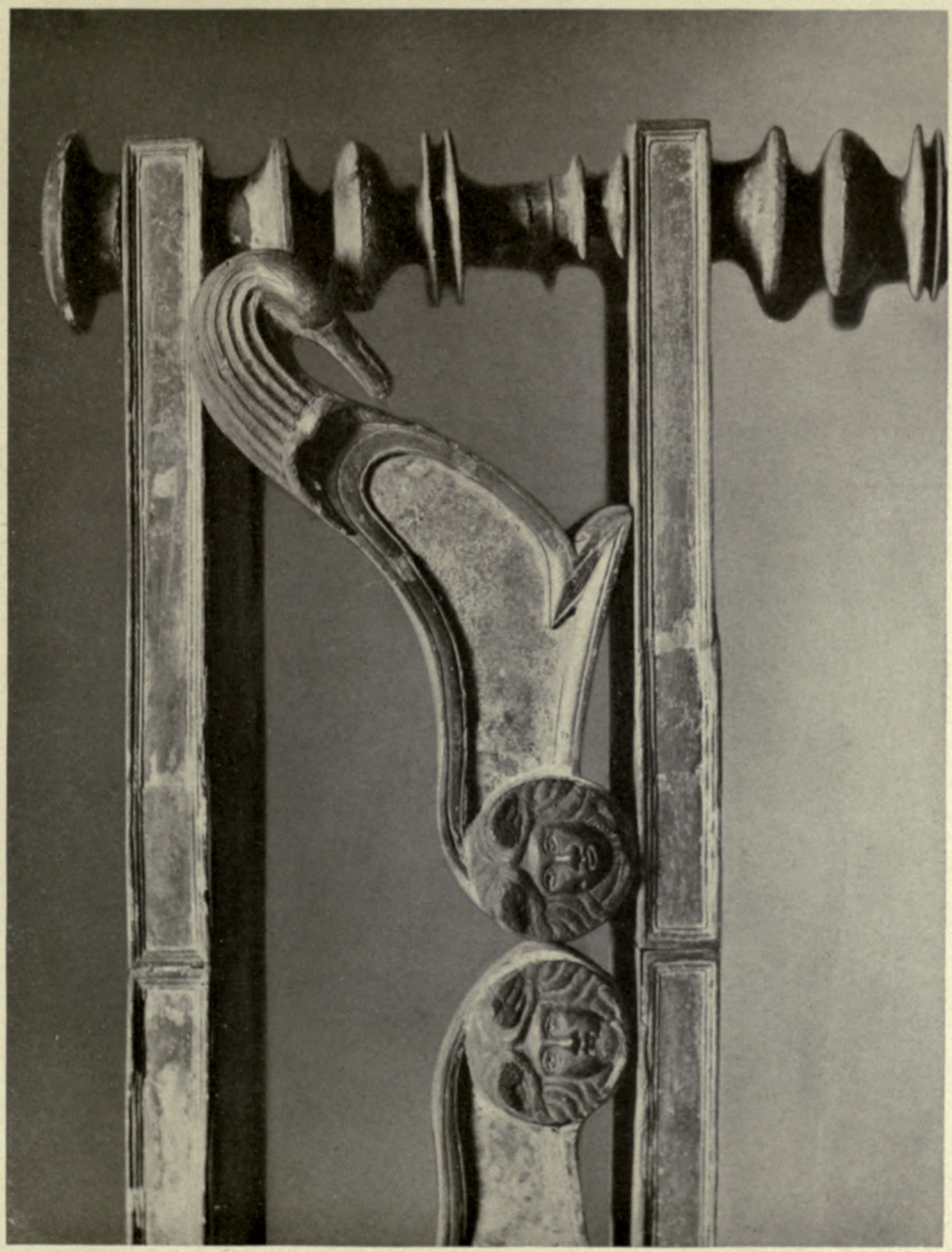
b

TWO SMALL TERRA-COTTAS.—*Berlin.*

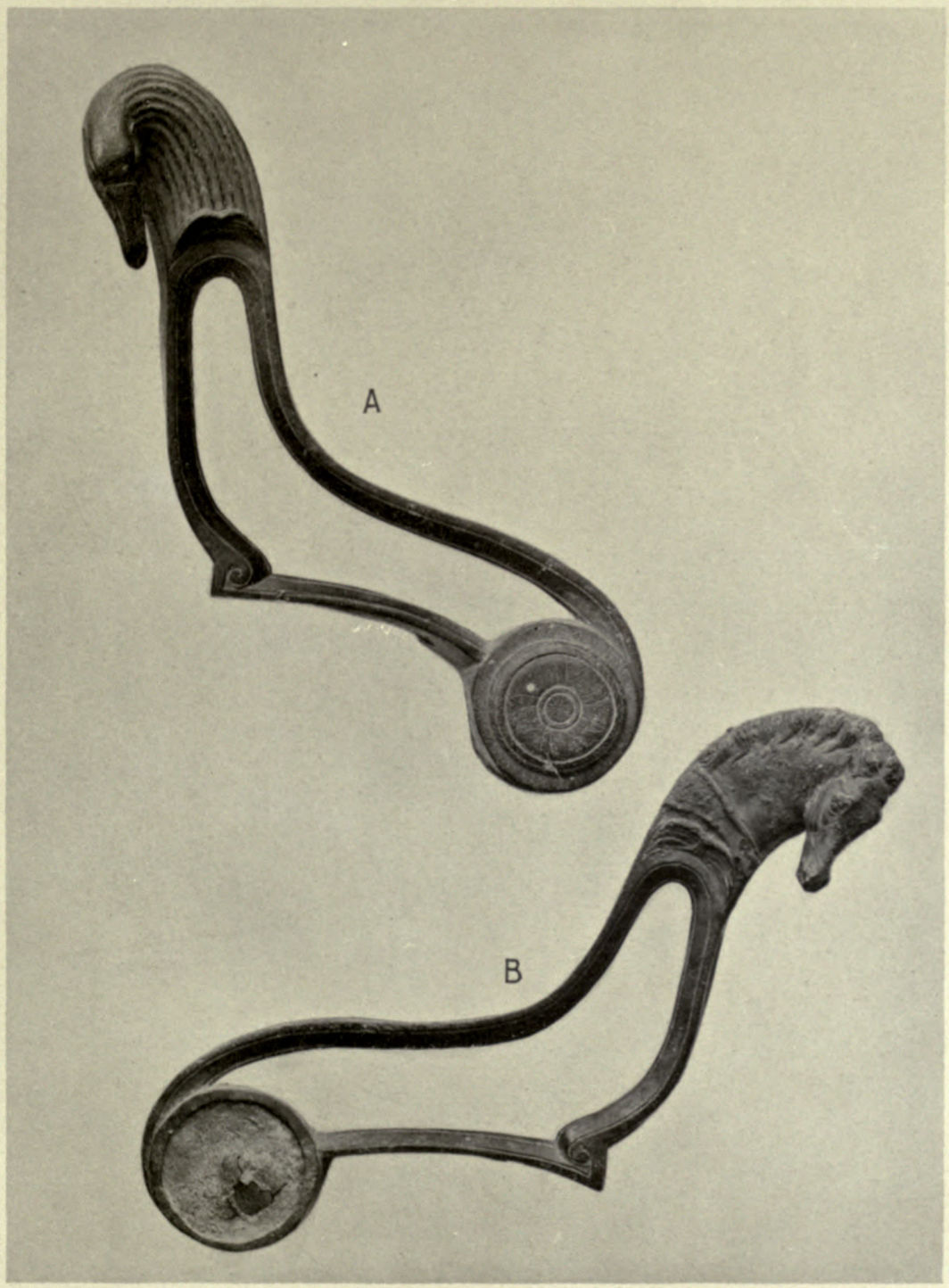


PARTS OF COUCH RESTORED AS A SEAT.—*British Museum.*

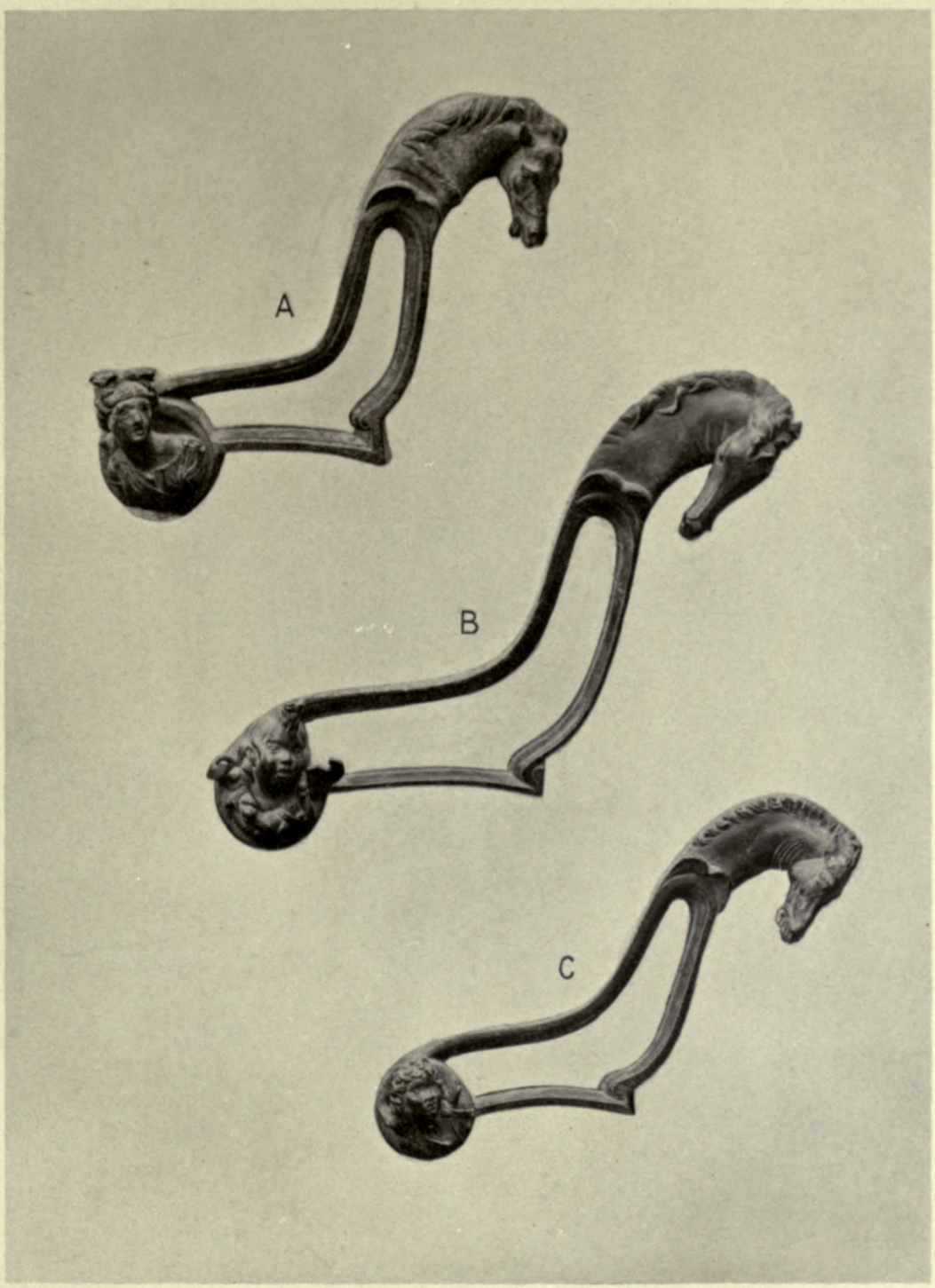
BRONZE ATTACHMENTS OF COUCH RESTORED AS A SEAT.—*British Museum.*



BRONZE ATTACHMENTS OF COUCH RESTORED AS A SEAT.—*British Museum.*

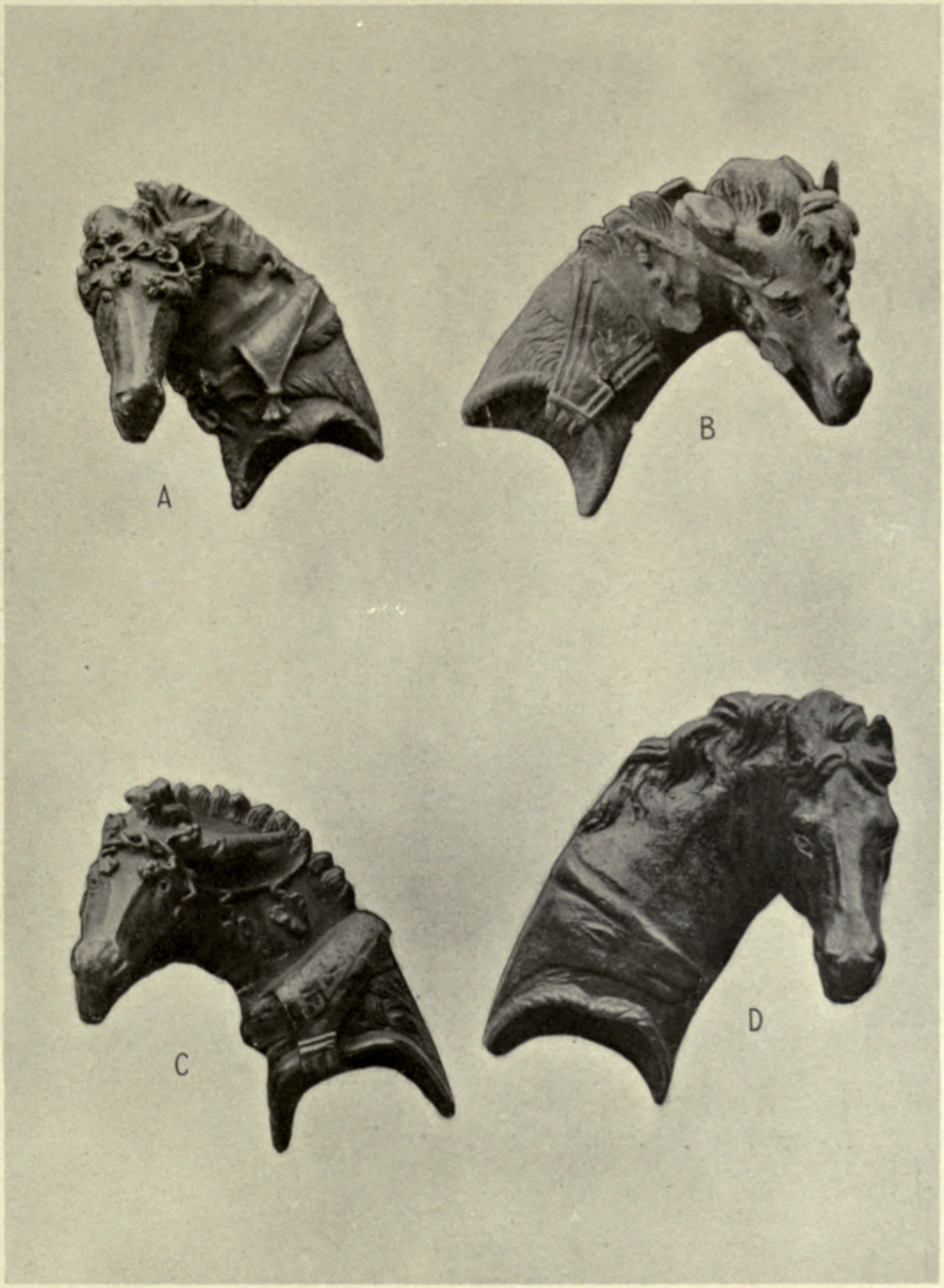


UPRIGHTS OF FULCRUM OF A COUCH.—*British Museum.*



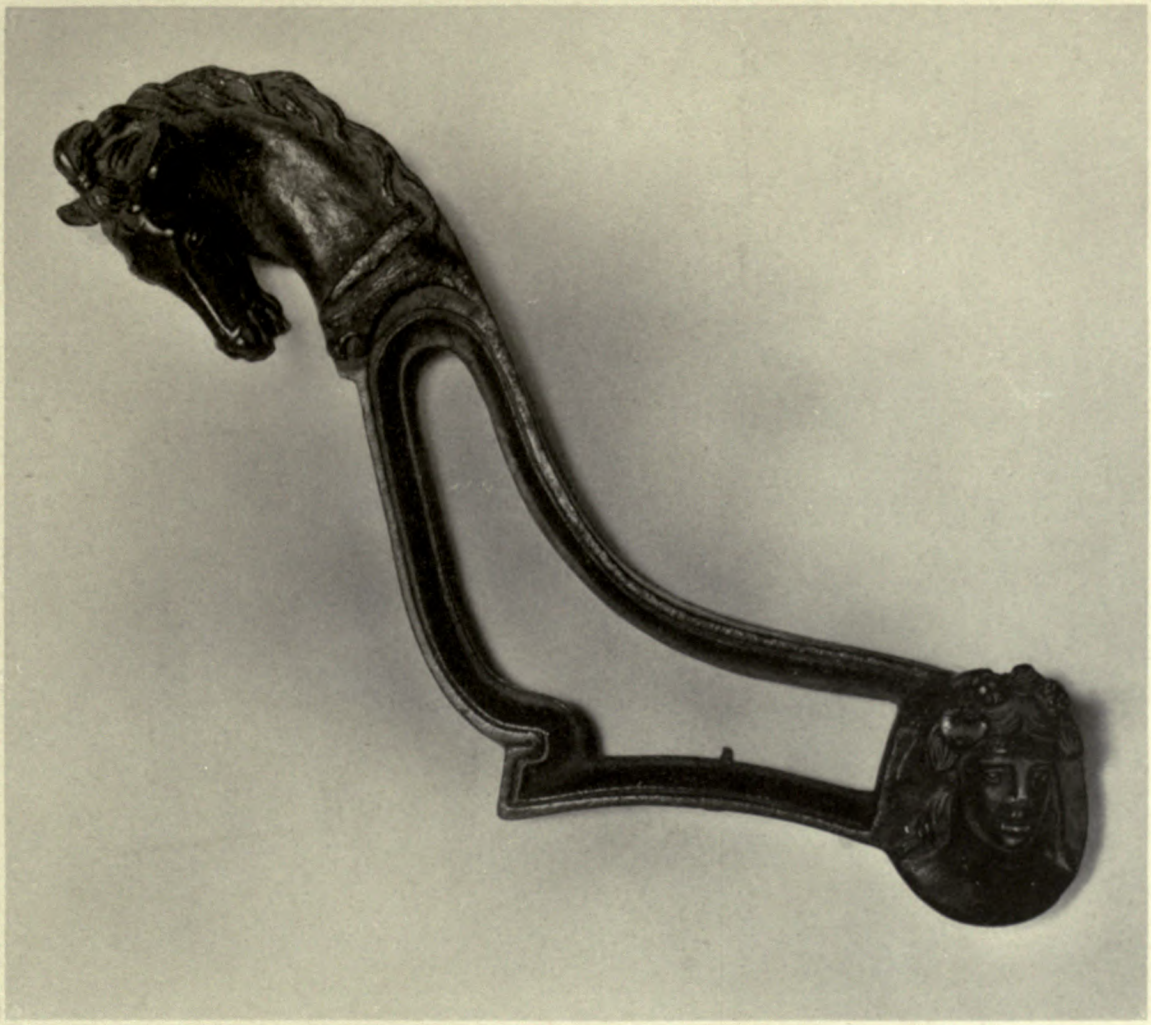
UPRIGHTS OF FULCRA OF COUCHES.—*British Museum.*

UPPER CORNER-ORNAMENT OF FULCRUM OF A COUCH.—*British Museum.*

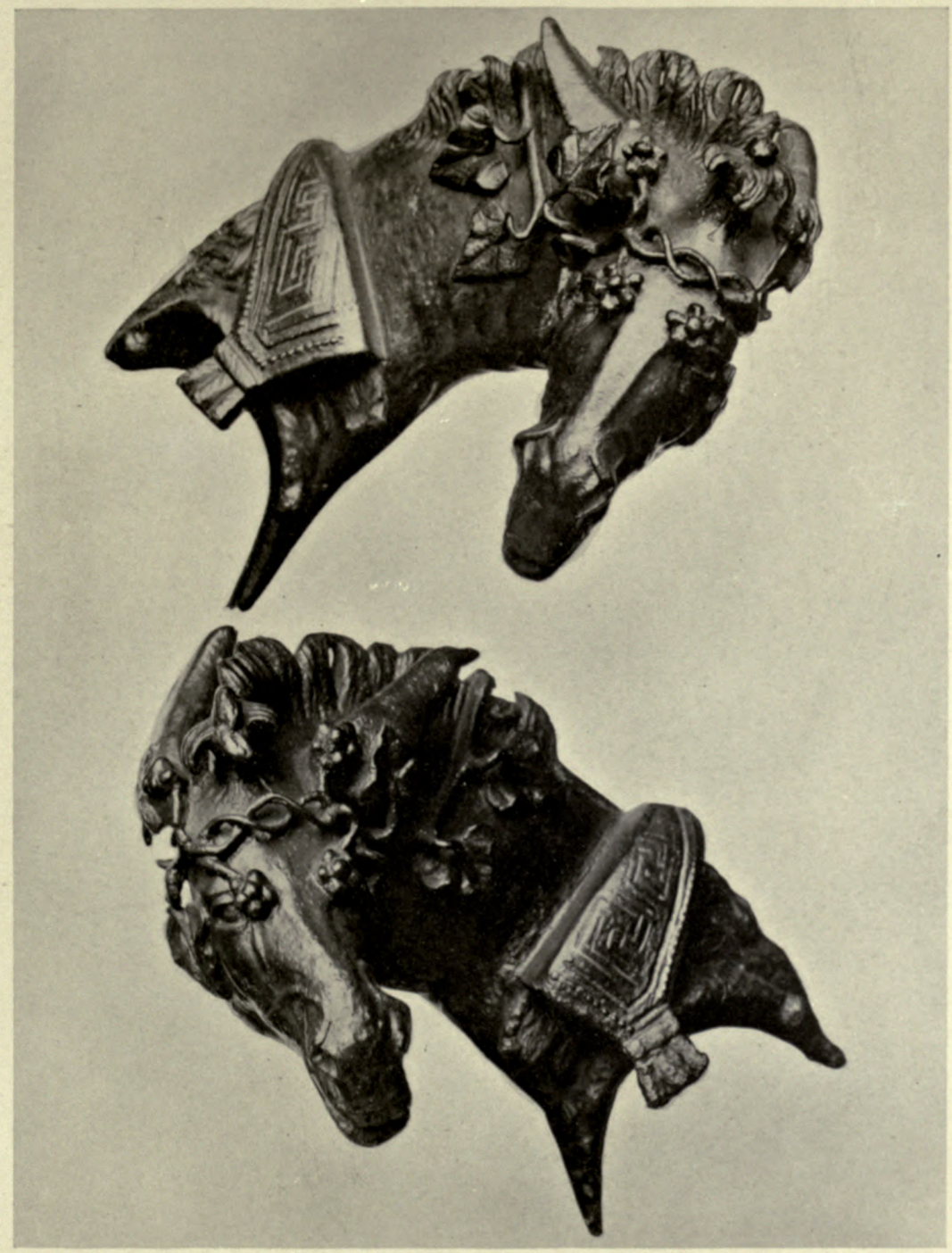


UPPER CORNER-ORNAMENTS OF FULCRA OF COUCHES.—*British Museum.*

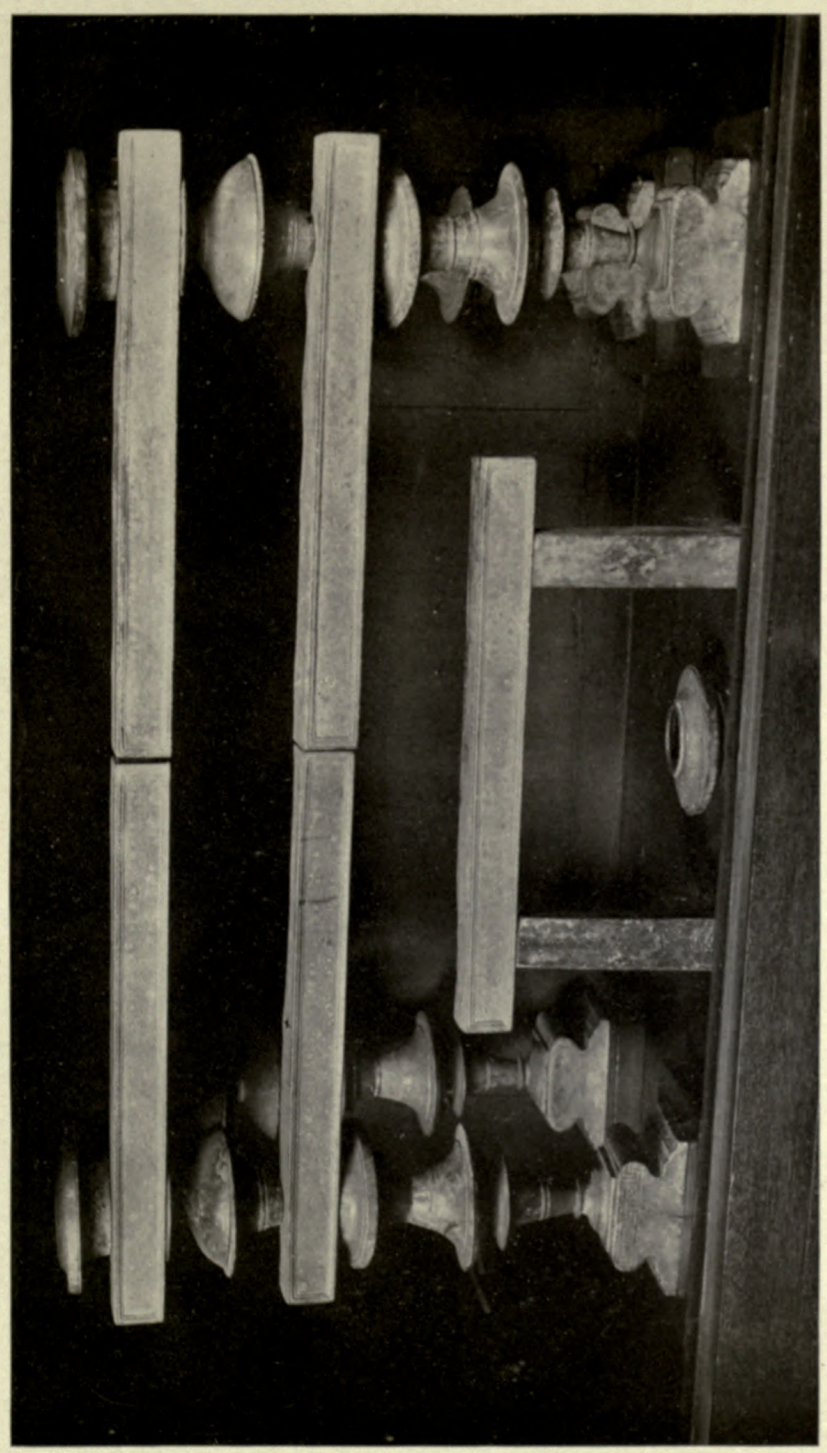
A B UPPER CORNER-ORNAMENTS OF FULCRA OF COUCHES.—*Berlin.*
C D ORNAMENTS OF FULCRA OF COUCHES.—*British Museum.*



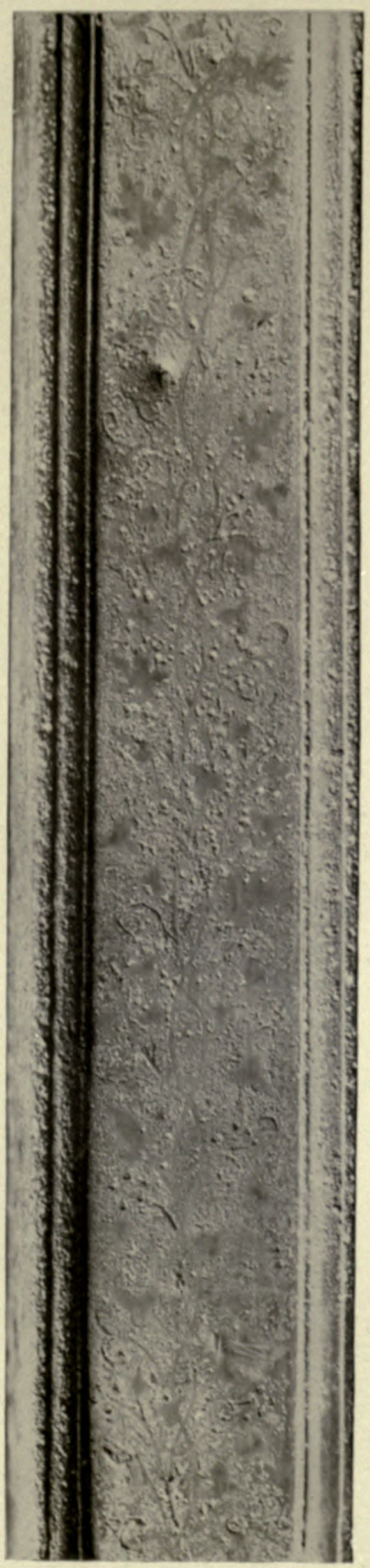
UPRIGHT OF FULCRUM OF A COUCH.—*Vienna.*



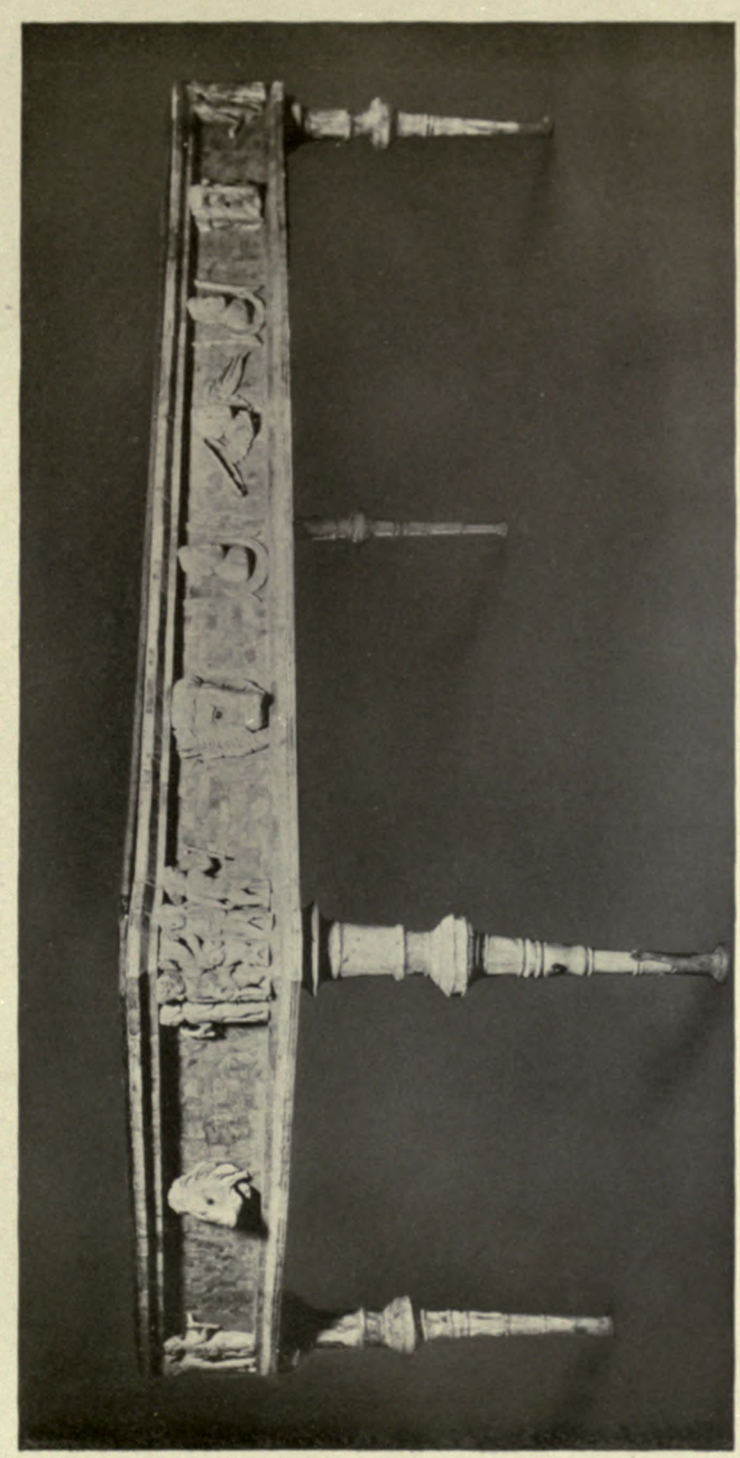
UPPER FRONT CORNER-ORNAMENTS OF FULCRA OF A COUCH.—*Louvre.*



PARTS OF COUCH RESTORED AS A SEAT.—*Lyons.*



DETAIL OF RAIL OF A COUCH.—*Lyons.*



FUNERARY COUCH WITH CARVINGS OF BONE. WRONGLY RESTORED.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*

FUNERARY COUCH. BONE ORNAMENT FROM LOWER CORNER OF A FULCRUM.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*

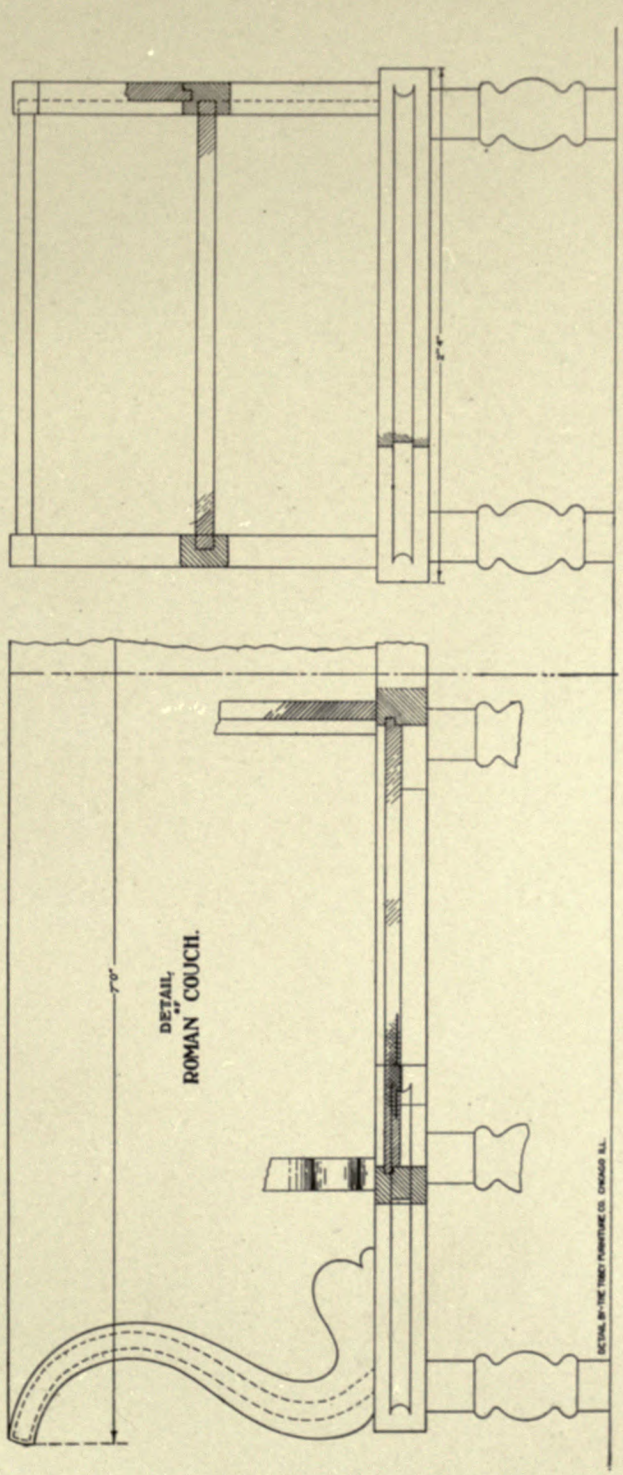
FUNERARY COUCH. BONE ORNAMENT FROM LOWER CORNER OF A FULCRUM.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*

FUNERARY COUCH. HEAD OF LION CARVED IN BONE.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*

FUNERARY COUCH. FIGURES CARVED IN BONE.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*

FUNERARY COUCH. FIGURES CARVED IN BONE.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*

FUNERARY COUCH. HEAD OF LION CARVED IN BONE.—*Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.*



WORKING DRAWING FOR CONSTRUCTION OF A COUCH OF ROMAN TYPE.

RELIEF IN LEAD. PROBABLY FROM END-PIECE OF A COFFIN.—*Berlin.*

a

b

a. SMALL TERRA-COTTA.—*Berlin.*
b. SMALL TERRA-COTTA.—*British Museum.*